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TRAVELS

IN

GREECE AND ALBANIA.

VOL. II.

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TRAVELS

IN

GREECE AND ALBANIA.

BY

THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TRAVELS,

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CHAPTER I.

THE difficulty of collecting any accurate information respecting the history of Ioannina has been acknowledged by all travellers who have endeavoured to investigate it. Neither in its origin, nor in its early progress towards grandeur, was it of consequence enough to engage the particular attention of historians; who merely mention it casually, and in a very unsatisfactory manner. Many historical documents however are said to have once existed among the archives of the city; but I was informed that all or greatest part of them had been destroyed by Mahomet Effendi, Ali's prime minister, to show his sovereign contempt for the literature of the Franks. I paid a visit to that extraordinary character for the purpose of rescuing, if possible, some of these records from destruction; but he put me off with a declaration that he had none at all in his possession: the vizir himself had no better success, though he condescended to

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make a personal application to the minister in my behalf. Just before we left Ioannina however I was fortunate enough to procure some extracts made at various times by a learned and respectable Greek gentleman, before the originals came into Mahomet's possession. To these and the Byzantine historians, after the classic authors fail, I am indebted for the following concise history.

In very early ages Epirus was inhabited by fourteen semibarbarous nations, intermingled with Grecian colonies. North of these lay the still more savage Illyrians, with whom the Epirotic tribes became insensibly intermingled.* They were long defended from invaders by their own valour and the lofty chains of mountains which intersect their rugged country, and which prevented the Greeks from subduing them. In process of time the Molossi first emerged from the state of surrounding barbarism; Tharyps, a patriotic prince, improving both their manners and language: Philip king of Macedonia raised them into notice by his union with Olympias, sister of Alexander their sovereign, and Pyrrhus spread around them the glory of martial exploits and military skill. Before this time however the Illyrian provinces had been united, though with no very firm bond, to the Macedonian dynasty, under which they remained till the defeat of Perseus: but the period approached when the Romans, those inveterate enemies of every thing great, and noble, and free in other nations, took a severe revenge for the invasion of Pyrrhus: after various and cruel ravages in the Illyrian, Ætolian, and Macedonian wars, the whole country was laid waste by the Consul Æmilius Paulus, whose fierce army sacked seventy cities, sold 150,000 of the wretched inhabitants into slavery, overthrew their

* Ἀναμέμικται δὲ τούτοις τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη, &c. Strab. l. vii. p. 502.

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walls, and left them in a state of ruin which at this day attests the fury of those inhuman conquerors.

The Epirotic nations were thenceforward governed by Roman prefects, Macedonia being divided into four distinct provinces, called Macedonia the First, Second, Third, and Fourth; in which latter were comprised the Illyrian tribes.* Under the reign of Constantine the Great, Illyricum and Epirus were comprised in the province of Pannonia and governed by an officer with the appellation of vice-prefect.† In the division of the empire after the death of Constantine, Illyricum Macedonia and Greece, with Italy and Africa, acknowledged the sovereignty of Constans his youngest son, who put his elder brother to death and seized upon the throne of Constantinople: after his own murder by Magnentius, the veteran general Vetranio, who had been governor of the Illyrian provinces, usurped the purple. Epirus, with the rest of Greece, appears to have benefited by the taste and liberality of Julian, who repaired many of its cities, especially Nicopolis, where he celebrated and restored the Actian games.

No ravages which these countries suffered since the days of Æmilius Paulus, are to be compared with those inflicted on them by Alaric near the end of the fourth century, when he retreated from Peloponnesus: through

* When Augustus separated the provinces into Imperial, and Prætorian or Senatorial, he left amongst the latter class Macedonia and Illyria, with Epirus, which, conjointly with Acarnania, Ætolia, Thessaly, and the rest of Grecia Propria, formed the province of Achaia. (Dion Cass. l. iii. § 12.) Tiberius took Macedonia and Achaia into the number of Imperial provinces; (Tac. Ann. l. i. c. 76,) but they were restored again to the senate by Claudius. (Sueton. c. 25.)

† Rome and Constantinople at this time were governed by prefects, under whom vice-prefects administered justice in the provinces. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 109. Pancirolus, p. 161. Cod. Justin. l. xii. tit. 56 and 57.

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the timid policy of the Byzantine court this Gothic general was himself created prefect of Illyricum, from whence he issued to plunder the fruitful plains of Italy. In the middle of the fifth century, under the contemptible reign of Theodosius the younger, these provinces were again afflicted by the scourge of war in the hands of Attila; nor did they suffer much less in the devastations of Genseric and his Vandals. Near the middle of the sixth century they were laid waste, with the rest of the European empire, by a terrible incursion of Huns or Bulgarians, so dreadful, says Gibbon, as almost to efface the memory of past inroads.

On the contraction of the Byzantine empire after the death of Heraclius, it was divided into districts called Themes, seventeen in Asia and twelve in Europe, one of which comprised old Epirus and Acarnania: but of all the barbarians which overran that part of the Empire now called European Turkey, none sent forth such immense and continual hordes as the Bulgarians. From the middle of the sixth century to the fall of Constantinople, this fierce people, continually issuing from the vast plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, spread themselves over the finest provinces, sometimes defeated with terrible slaughter, at others obtaining settlements by force of arms or the weak policy of the emperors. They occupied large districts in Epirus and Illyricum, establishing their capital at Achris or Ochris, the ancient Lychnidus, to whose ruler, named Peter, the emperor Romanus gave the title of king, with his grand-daughter in marriage: but this capital was in the beginning of the tenth century sacked and destroyed by Basil II., surnamed the Bulgarian-Killer,* who found there a treasure consisting of 10,000 pounds weight in gold; but his

* Βουλγαροκτόνος. Acropolita, c. xi.

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cruelty left a stain on his character which no valour could obliterate: he blinded 15,000 of his captives, leaving a single eye alone to one out of each hundred, that he might lead his companions to the presence of their sovereign: that compassionate prince is said to have died with grief at the sight, but the unfortunate victims lived to excite the spirit of revenge, and bequeath it to their posterity. The Bulgarians however continued in possession of other districts, and by the end of the tenth century had extended themselves to the most southern parts of Epirus;* probably the Albanians were driven by these and other invaders into the more inaccessible parts of the country, from whence they emerged about a century after the destruction of Achris, and began to act a more important part upon this theatre.

Conjointly with the Bulgarians we find the Servians often mentioned by the Byzantine historians, as a people of Sclavonian origin, who had chiefly established themselves upon the Danube: they were governed by an hereditary monarch, under the title of Cral, and in the twelfth century are mentioned by Cantacuzene as having settlements in southern Macedonia, where a city remains to this day, which testifies their dominion by its appellation of Servia. Even so early as in the tenth century nearly all Greece was colonized and interspersed with various tribes of Sclavonián descent, who contributed to alter the manners and debase the language of its people.† Among them a curious people were found, who still exist in considerable numbers, retaining all their peculiarities of language, habits, and customs. These were the Vlakhi or Valachians, whose dialect, containing a large inter-

* Cedrenus, p. 628, says they were masters of Nicopolis.

† Καὶ νῦν δὲ πᾶσαν Ἤπειρον καὶ Ἑλλάδα σχεδὸν καὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Μακεδονίαν Σκύθαι Σκλάβοι νέμονται. Epit. Strab. Geog. l. vii. p. 99. ed. Huds.

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mixture of Latin words, supplies a reason for referring their origin to the Roman colonies planted in Dacia and Mœsia by Trajan and his successors. The original Valachians were so warlike that they frequently endangered the very seat of empire,* but their descendants are an inoffensive race, addicted to pastoral occupations. Extirpated in the more northern districts by the Turks, the remnant now found were preserved in the mountain fastnesses of the south.

It seemed as if each tempest of war that troubled Europe cast a wave upon the devoted shores of this country; for in the latter part of the eleventh century Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemond led their adventurous Normans out of the kingdom of Apulia, to attack the frontiers of the eastern empire. Their first enterprise was the siege of Durazzo, which was bravely defended by its governor George Palæologus till the arrival of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus.† This enterprise not only introduces the Albanians for the first time into historical notice, a people destined to act so conspicuous a part in the annals of Epirus, but occasions the earliest mention of Ioannina.

After an unsuccessful battle, Alexius fled to Achris, leaving a Venetian garrison in the city under the command of Comiscorta an *Albanian* chieftain.‡ Whilst the victorious Robert was deliberating whether he should press the siege, or retire into winter quarters at Glabin-

* They contributed chiefly, with the Bulgarians and other northern tribes, to gain the battle of Adrianople, which led to the expulsion of Baldwin from the Byzantine throne, A. D. 1205. The Vlakhi of Epirus are called Κούτσο-Βλάχοι (or lame Vlakhi) to distinguish them from the original settlers on the Danube named Μαῦρο-Βλάχοι (or black Vlakhi.)

† Father of the celebrated Anna the historian. The siege commenced in June, A. D. 1081.

‡ Annæ Comn. Alex. l. iv. sub. fin.

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itza, a secret correspondence with one of the Venetians determined him to remain, and the city was delivered up on the 8th of February, 1082. Being recalled to Italy by a rebellion, he left his son Bohemond to prosecute the war.

According to Anna Comnena this warrior led his troops through the heart of Epirus, and occupied a most important station at Ioannina, having fortified its castron* and repaired the walls. From this post he sent out parties, who committed so many enormities, that the emperor once more collected an army and marched to give them battle. In the ensuing conflict, which lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, the imperial forces were totally routed, although Alexius, according to the partial but very pardonable account of his filial historian, performed prodigies of valour, remaining till his best troops and officers were cut in pieces around him, and then only flying to preserve himself for better hopes and greater dangers.

The course of events hath thus brought us to Ioannina: but we shall dwell for a short time only upon its early annals; since no historian has left any account of its origin or progress in those ages when human beings were reduced to the lowest point of degradation by the enervating influence of the Byzantine government: neither does it derive importance from its connexion with literature and the arts, or claim any share of that partiality which we so indelibly acquire for the Grecian name: its inhabitants have passed from the face of the earth without leaving any traces of their existence that can enable us to enjoy their triumphs or sympathize in their misfortunes; and even those which

* That incomparable geographer Meletius says it was fortified by Michael Ducas the sebastocrator, (read protostrator,) uncle of the Princess Anna Comnena.

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an imperfect history endeavours to designate, appear like shadows in the twilight, which the eye can barely distinguish from the surrounding gloom. The sole interest connected with Ioannina rests upon the character and exploits of its late ruler, who, during a series of eventful circumstances, raised it from the head of a small pashalic to be the capital of Old and New Epirus.

Respecting the foundation of this city nothing is certain. Some refer it to John Cantacuzene; others to Michael Ducas and an unknown despot Thomas;* others again to an equally unidentified despot John: but many things seem to denote that it took place long before the title of despot was given to the ruler of a province: nor can it be surprising that the security of its site, the fertility of its plains, the advantage of its magnificent lake, and its mountain barriers, should attract the eye of the citizen and the soldier, both as an agreeable residence and an impregnable fortress. There can be no doubt that it was occupied in very early ages of the Empire. From Anna Comnena we find that in the eleventh century its castron being *dilapidated* was *repaired* by the gallant Bohemond: many centuries therefore had probably elapsed before this dilapidation took place, through neglect and confidence; for the very silence of history affords presumptive evidence that its commanding situation imposed awe and respect upon invaders. An inspection of some ancient ruins in the castron inclined me to refer the original edifice to Justinian, who, as we learn from Procopius, erected innumerable fortresses throughout his do-

* This opinion seems to have arisen from a monumental inscription discovered in digging for the foundations of a house in Ioannina, which signifies HERE LIES DUKE THOMAS, GOVERNOUR OF IOANNINA. This Mr. Jones saw, but I did not: it however proves nothing with regard to the foundation of the city.

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minions, particularly Epirus and Macedonia: * the style of building too very accurately coincides with other edifices attributed to that emperor.

From the time of the Norman invasion, Ioannina seems to have been unnoticed, till the capture of Constantinople by the Franks, and the consequent foundation of the great despotate of Epirus, by Michael Angelus, a bastard son of John the Sebastocrator. This Michael had married a daughter of the governor of Durazzo, which gave him such an interest in the western provinces, that he quickly united under his sway Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, with the strong cities of Ioannina, Arta, and Naupactus; † but was soon afterwards murdered in his bed, together with his wife, by one of his domestics named Romæus.

He was succeeded by his brother Theodore who augmented his possessions by the conquest, not only of Thessaly, but of the Bulgarian district of Achris, Albanopolis,

* He is mentioned by this author as ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιβαλὼν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι· he gives lists of the forts built and repaired, of which those in Old and New Epirus alone amounted to 44 built, and 50 repaired. De Ædif. l. iv. c. 1. The name, Ioannina, which is always written in the plural number τὰ Ἰωάννινα, leads us to suppose that its immediate founder was some person of the name of Ἰωάννης, or John: otherwise we might suspect, connecting other circumstances with it, that its appellation was derived from Ioannina, daughter and sole heiress of the Great Belisarius, who was forcibly married to Anastasius, who is called the grandson (θυγατριδοῦς) of the Empress Theodora. (Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. iv. v.) Gibbon would translate the word θυγατριδοῦς a nephew, contrary to its meaning, which signifies a grandson by the daughter's side; and the historian in the very next chapter calls this Anastasius Τὸν Θεοδώρας ἔκγονον.

† Ἰωαννίνων γὰρ ἦρχε καὶ Ἄρτης καὶ μέχρι Ναυπάκτου. Acropolitæ Hist. c. viii. Nicet. Ann. Balduin. c. ix. p. 410. Ioannina and Arta are mentioned as the two principal cities of this despotate, in an anonymous poem written about the year 1300, quoted by Colonel Leake in his Researches, p. 166.

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and many other strong places: he defeated and took prisoner Peter of Courtenay, the newly-crowned Emperor of Constantinople;* and from the dark expressions of Acropolita, I agree with Gibbon in supposing that he put him treacherously to death: having afterwards conquered Demetrius son of the Marquis Bonifaccio, and taken possession of Thessalonica, Theodore caused himself to be crowned emperor in that city by Demetrius Archbishop of Achris, on the refusal of Constantine Metropolitan of Thessalonica.†

When he assumed this empire it would seem that he bestowed the despotate of Epirus upon Michael Angelus, son of Michael Angelus Nothus, whom the Emperor Vataces confirmed in his title. He was a very warlike prince, retaking many possessions from the great Manuel Palæologus, who recovered the Byzantine throne from the usurpation of the Latins: at his death he left his Epirotic and Ætolian dominions to his son Nicephorus Angelus, surnamed Ducas, together with the islands of Corcyra, Cephalonia and Ithaca.‡

* Acropolita, c. xiv.

† After this he conquered many cities of Thrace, among which was Adrianople, and advanced even to the suburbs of Constantinople itself. He was diverted from his conquests by a rupture with his ally Azan king of the Bulgarians, by whom he was defeated in battle, taken prisoner, and deprived of his sight. Being afterwards liberated (vid. Acropol. c. 38.) he recovered the kingdom of Thessalonica from his brother Manuel, who had usurped it in his absence, and transferred the title of emperor to his son John, retaining for himself that of despot, with the secret management of affairs. This John however was obliged by the Emperor Vataces to lay aside his imperial title, though he was allowed to retain that of despot together with his government. His piety and virtues are much eulogized by the historian Acropolita. He died A. D. 1224.

‡ Niceph. Gregoras, l. iv. pp. 79. 93. Du Cange seems to be in error respecting the death of Nicephorus, which, according to him, took place A. D.

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His son Thomas, by Anna Palæogina, succeeded him in the despotate of Epirus, being confirmed in its possession by Andronicus the elder, whose grand-daughter he married. He was slain by John Count of Zante and Cephalonia, who invaded his dominions and married his widow: after the death of Andronicus junior, and during the commotions that ensued from the usurpation of the Imperial throne by John Cantacuzene, Stephen Duscian, Cral of Servia, overran Macedonia and Epirus, assumed the title of Emperor of the Romans, and instituted an order of knighthood with all the dignities of a Byzantine court. He united the districts of Ioannina, Triccala, and Larissa under the command of one of his satraps, called Prelupus, constituting his brother Simon, or Sinissa, despot of Ætolia and Acarnania. After the death of Stephen, this Simon contended with the Cral his son named Uresis, or Urosius, for the throne; at which time, Prelupus also being dead, Nicephorus* regained great part of the western despotate, forcing Simon to fix his residence at Castoria: from thence however he returned upon the death of Nicephorus, who was slain in a battle with the Albanians near the source of the Achelous,† that people having now become very powerful in Epirus.‡

Simon, upon these tidings, returned into that part of his former territory called Grecian Vlakia, of which

1288; whereas he is described by Cantacuzene as taking an active part in the Ætolian wars during the reign of Andronicus junior, who was not crowned till the year 1325. Cantacuzene also makes him son of the despot John, so it is possible there may have been two of this name.

* Cantacuzene calls this Nicephorus a son of John Duke of Acarnania, whose death he mentions lib. ii. c. 32.

† So I take the expression of Cantacuzene, who says the battle took place *περί τι χωρίον* 'Αχελῶον *προσαγορευόμενον* L. iv. c. 43. He employed some Asiatic Turkish auxiliaries in this engagement.

‡ Cantacuz. Hist. passim.

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Triccala was the capital; in which city he fixed his wife Thomais, and proceeded against Ætolia, which received him submissively, as also did Arta and Ioannina. From these successes he was called away by the insurrection of the Servian chief Clapenus, who having married the widow of Prelupus, took up his residence in Berrhœa, from whence he made incursions upon the possessions of Simon, instigated in all probability by his wife; for his enmity was soon appeased when Simon gave his daughter, the beautiful and accomplished Angelina, to Thomas, her son by Prelupus.

Simon now confined his attention chiefly to the affairs of Vlachia, being unable to resist the arms of the Albanians,* who took possession of Ætolia and Acarnania, divided into two districts under command of the chieftains Ghinos Buïàs and Peter Leoses. Ioannina however resisted all their attempts, and its citizens reduced to great straits, sent a deputation to Simon, imploring his assistance: but in avoiding a lesser evil they fell into a greater! for Simon, with the forces for their protection, sent back also as their governor, his son-in-law Thomas, whom my MS. designates by the gentle titles of, an imp of darkness, and a son of Satan. With his princess Angelina, he made a triumphant entry into Ioannina, where he conducted himself for a short time with candour and moderation, but soon threw off the mask, and appeared in all his native depravity.

The first attack made by this tyrant was upon the church and its treasures, which he pillaged to enrich his Servian followers: he next raised his hand against the

* Not long before this time they had greatly annoyed the imperial possessions and fortresses in the Illyrian provinces, but had been severely chastised for their audacity by Andronicus jun. assisted by a formidable auxiliary force of Asiatic Turks. Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 32.

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wealthiest of the inhabitants, confiscating their estates, and driving all into exile, except a few, who by the basest compliances ingratiated themselves into his favour. Amongst these unworthy citizens are particularized Bardinus, governor of San. Donato,* and John Capsocavades, commander of Rakovitza, who became his chief counsellors in iniquity and his associates in debauchery. Amidst the tyrannical acts of this monster, which became so great that even his own Servians deserted the city, none excited greater horror than that which he committed against Elias Clauses, one of the best and richest of the citizens, whom he compelled to reveal his treasures by unheard-of cruelties, making him drink water mingled with ashes, and burning his naked body with torches and brimstone, till he expired under the torment.

During the government of this wretch in 1368, a terrible pestilence invaded Ioannina, and swept off great numbers: at its conclusion he forced the rich widows to marry his despicable companions, and appropriated to his own use the property of the orphans; at the same time this unfortunate city was exposed to great external calamities by an Albanian invasion, under Peter Leoses, who was only induced to retire by receiving great bribes, and the hand of Irene, Thomas's daughter, in marriage.

In the mean time a second pestilence broke out with particular violence in Ioannina and Arta; at which latter place Leoses fell a victim to it; after whose death a celebrated chieftain, named Spatas, usurped the sovereignty, and joined together under his now formidable dominion, the two Albanian principalities of Ætolia and Acarnania. This warrior also came up against Ioannina, and was only diverted from sacking the city by

* A place in the neighbourhood of Paramithia.

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receiving Helen, the tyrant's sister, in marriage, with a regal dowry.

The despot, liberated from this last and pressing danger, sunk deeper and deeper in iniquity, giving himself up to the guidance of an abandoned miscreant named Michael Apsaras, who not only led him into the most enormous and unnatural vices, but alienated his affections from his wife Angelina, a beautiful and excellent woman who had hitherto been able to afford protection to many suppliants against the tyranny of her husband.*

In 1378 the Albanians of Malacassi† under Ghino Frati made an irruption during the season of vintage, but were defeated and lost a great number in killed and prisoners. In February 1379, a tower of the castron was betrayed by one Nicephorus a native of Peramas to two hundred Albanians, who were joined by a large body of their countrymen from the island of the lake, with Valachians and Bulgarians mixed; when the whole castron, with its principal gula or citadel, fell into their hands. During three days terrible commotions ensued, and a general assault was prepared by the Albanians in the fortress and their allies in the island; from which danger the citizens were delivered by the interposition of Michael the archangel, who still continues the patron of the city. The expedition from the island being thus met and defeated, the Albanians in the castron surrendered and were put to death, except a certain number sent back as a warning to their countrymen, with the loss of eyes, ears and noses: from this massacre Thomas took the surname of the Albanian-killer (Ἀλβανοκτόνος).‡

* She is styled in my Ioannina MS. Ἡ τῷ ὄντι χρυσῆ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτη βασίλισσα.

† A large town of the Pindus about ten miles beyond Mezzovo.

‡ The Albanians became very formidable in the fourteenth century, at the

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In the ensuing May Spatas took revenge for these enormities by laying waste the vineyards and corn-fields, in spite of the mean vengeance of Thomas, who hung up before the city walls all the Albanians that fell into his power, or sent them mutilated into the enemy's camp: nor did his cruelty towards his own subjects cease; for in this very year he put to death Elias, the venerable Bishop of Mezzovo, at the instance of Apsaras, cut alive into small pieces Theochores an excellent citizen, and dragged another, named Gastiziotes, to death at a horse's tail: many also lost their eyes, or were kept in miserable dungeons until they gave up their treasures. In 1380 he fortified various strong castles,* called in the assistance of the Turks, and carrying fire and sword into the territories of Malacassi inflicted horrid cruelties upon his victims: in 1382 he repeated these incursions with the same allies, and conquered the cities of Velas, Drynopolis, Bagenetia, and Catuna.

In the same year this apostate, by which title he is chiefly designated, received the title of Despot from Manuel, son of John Palæologus: but at length his enormities became so revolting that four of his body-guard conspired to rid the world of such a monster, and effected their design by stabbing him in his bed on the night of December 20, 1385.

This wretch having been buried with royal obsequies, his widow Angelina in January 1386 espoused Izaus Count of Cephalonia, an excellent and virtuous prince. Amongst his first acts was the recall of the archbishop

latter end of which two of their chiefs shone very conspicuously, Balza in the north and Spatas in the south. Chalcondyl. l. iv. p. 111.

* Amongst these are mentioned Boursina, Critzounista, Dragomi, Velchista and Rakovitza.

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Mathew whom Thomas had exiled, the restoration of the churches, the destruction of the tyrant's horrid dungeons, and the punishment of his vile counsellors; the infamous Apsaras being deprived of his eyes and banished with his family from the realm. After this he protected the country from the depredations of Albanian marauders, subjecting many by his arms, and conciliating others by treaties: his good character procured for him the approbation of the Byzantine court and the regal title, the ceremony of his coronation being performed by the archbishop and two of his suffragans, the Bishops of Velas and Drynopolis.

Izaus having entered into alliance with the rulers of Vlakia and Thessalonica, governed his states in peace till the year 1395, when he had the misfortune to lose his wife Angelina, whose remains were followed to the grave by a vast concourse of citizens uttering unfeigned accents of grief and lamentation. In 1397, at the instigation of his council, he espoused Irene, daughter of his old antagonist Spatas, a woman of great beauty and talent; and soon afterwards lent his assistance to his father-in-law against an invasion of the Turks, who were defeated in a bloody battle near Drisco. In the following year Izaus marched against a powerful chieftain of Albania named Ghioni Zenevisi, in the province of Lower Dibra, by whom he was taken prisoner. The news of his captivity being carried to Florence, where he had relations of high rank, they, with the assistance of the Venetian government at Corfu, procured his release by a ransom of 10,000 florins, which was paid at the city of Argyro-Castro, whither Izaus was brought and liberated: from thence in company with his brother Sghurus, he passed over to Corfu, Santa Maura, and Arta, where

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he was kindly received by Spatas and conducted to Ioannina; in which city he died peaceably on the 29th of April, 1401.

Sghurus succeeded by will to the dominions of his brother, and at the death of Spatas to the government of Arta. Against him came up a celebrated chieftain named Bonghoes, with a large army of Servians, Albanians, Bulgarians, and Valachians * who drove Sghurus from his dominions, laid waste the country, burned towns and villages, and massacred their inhabitants; so that the MS. concludes this part of its history with a pathetic exclamation of Acarnania "weeping for her children and refusing comfort because they are not."† According to my documents this Sghurus was the last Christian prince who reigned at Ioannina,‡ which was thenceforth governed by an aristocracy. In the year 1432, the inhabitants, alarmed by the extensive conquests of Murat or Amurath II. sent a detachment of their best troops to guard the passes of Pindus, who cut to pieces the Turks opposed to them; on which occasion the sultan sent the following epistle to the city.

"*Sultan Murat Sovereign of the East and West, to the People of Ioannina, greeting:*

"I counsel you to deliver up to me with good will your fortress, and to receive me as your sovereign, lest you

* At least this seems implied by the surname given by the MS. to this leader, who is styled Μπογγόης ὁ Σερβοαλβανοβουλγαροβλάχος.

† This expulsion of Sghurus did not take place till after the year 1418, if he be the same governor who is mentioned by the historian Ducas as having sent, as well as some other states, an envoy to congratulate Mahomet I. on his restoration to the throne of Adrianople. Ducæ Hist. Byz. c. xx.

‡ Phransa however makes mention of a despot Charles who died at Ioannina A. D. 1430, just before it fell into the possession of the Turks.

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should move me to great wrath, and I should come up against you and take your city with the sword: then you will suffer all the calamities that other places have suffered, which refusing to acknowledge my power, have been conquered by my arms; whose inhabitants have been sold into slavery through the East and through the West. Come then, let us make a treaty and ratify it with an oath, I on my part that I will respect your rights, and you on yours that you will obey me faithfully."

Upon receipt of this letter the principal inhabitants took counsel, and fearing to attract the resentment of so powerful a prince, sent ambassadors to Thessalonica, where the keys of their fortress were delivered into his hands.* On their return he sent back with them a Turkish garrison who took possession of the castron with great rejoicings, but soon showed their enmity against the Christian faith by razing to the ground the ancient church of St. Michael near the gula.

In a short time these Mahometans built houses in that part of the city which was afterwards called Turcopalco, and wishing to domiciliate there, obtained the Sultan's permission to take for themselves wives among the daughters of the Greeks: despairing, however, of success with the ladies, they devised the following scheme to effect their purpose.

Watching the opportunity of a great festival when the Greek families attended divine service in the cathedral, they armed themselves secretly, and waited at the doors

* Phransa, however, reports that the city was taken by Sinan, general of Murat, in 1431, l. ii. c. 9. Chalcondilas gives a different account, and says, that it was at this time under the government of Charles, who was called Duke or Prince of Ioannina, a city at that time considered the most important in Greece, next to Thessalonica. Chalcond. l. v. p. 126.

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till the congregation came out; then, each person seizing upon the damsel that pleased him best, carried her off in defiance of her relatives and friends. The parents, after a short time, seeing no remedy for the evil, consented to the nuptials, and gave the customary dowry to the husbands.

After this event the Mahometan population of course increased; but the Greeks still resided in the castron, paying a moderate tribute until, in the year 1611, their evil star gained the ascendancy, and brought upon them such a train of calamities that my MS. can trace them to no other cause except the personal interference of the arch-fiend himself. The immediate author of these evils, or the satanic instrument, was Dionysius,* called the Dog-sophist, who had been ejected from his bishopric of Tricala for practising the arts of astrology and necromancy. This personage had the misfortune to dream that he saw the Sultan rise up to receive him; and hence conjectured that he was fated by the stars to deliver his country from the Ottoman yoke. Full of this project, as he roamed about, with a wallet behind his back and a flaggon of wine slung by his side, gaining proselytes to his opinion and adherents to his cause, he arrived at the monastery of San Demetrio near Delvinaki: there learning that the Turks were not very numerous in Ioannina, and that they dwelt for the most part outside the fortress, he determined to make that the scene of his first operations. Having by his pretended skill in astrology, as well as by the application of money, collected a crowd of followers, he led them by night against the city, which they entered singing the Kyrie Eleison; there they put to death about a hundred Mahometans, and burned several houses, Asu-

* Σκηλόσοφος. The MS. by a play upon his name, calls him also Δαιμονόσιος.

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man Pasha the governor escaping with great difficulty by a secret passage into the gula.

This infatuated mob having soon turned their hands to plunder, and become inebriated by the contents of wine casks, the Turks seized the opportunity of rallying, and making a charge; when they slew many and took more, whom they reserved for the most exquisite tortures: but Dionysius in the tumult escaped, and hid himself in a deep cavern under the north-east precipice of the castron, called to this day the cave of the Skelosophist. Here he eluded for a time the search that was made for him, being supplied with bread by a baker; but he was at last discovered by some Jews, and delivered up to his enemies: the arch-rebel was then flayed alive, his skin stuffed with straw, sent to Constantinople, and carried to the Seraglio: there it is said that the Sultan, having heard of the singular character of this astrologer, rose up from the divan to view the spectacle, and fulfilled his prediction.

After this rebellion Ioannina was treated by the Turks like all other conquered cities. The principal conspirators, with many innocent persons, were subjected to extreme punishments, some being impaled, others sawn asunder, and many burned alive: every Greek church within the castron was razed to the ground, from which place all Christians were banished for ever by a special firman of the Sultan; but the Jews were allowed to retain their habitations, and received various immunities, in consequence of the assistance they had rendered to the Mahometans.*

* This accounts for their late residence there in great numbers, and the total exclusion of the Greeks. I find the sedition of Dionysius alluded to in Knolles's History of the Turks, p. 1308. It happened in the reign of Achmet the eighth emperor of Constantinople. The stuffing of the Bishop is also

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The expulsion of the Greeks from the castron tended to increase the city, which soon began to extend its arms along the banks of the lake. It seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of tranquillity during the last efforts made by Christian powers to preserve some portion of European Turkey from the overwhelming force of its Ottoman invaders. It was governed by beys, and pashas of two tails, sent by the Porte, but never became the capital of a sandgiac until the time of its last Pasha, whose experienced eye soon saw the advantages of its central situation: * under him it rose to that degree of splendor, importance, and population which we saw. The number of inhabitants was computed at near forty thousand: after the insulation of the castron and the fortification of Litaritza, it might have been said to have had two citadels, three palaces, (besides a vast number of small serais,) nineteen mosques, and six Greek churches. There were also five tekés, or Turkish monasteries, and two Jewish synagogues within the castron. The hospital, which was founded by the exertions of Signore Nicolo's father, was capable of receiving one hundred and fifty patients, and an annual governor was appointed to inspect the accounts and superintend the whole concern. The public prison was a dreadful place, sufficient to appall the stoutest heart: but a procuratore attended there daily to administer food and raiment to the wretched inmates, many of whom would otherwise have perished with cold and hunger.

Ioannina contained two schools in which the ancient

mentioned, but he is there styled a patriarch: it is also added, that the co-operation of some Maltese knights, Neapolitans and Spaniards was expected. Here the Ioannina MSS. end.

* This pashalic was divided into four districts or provinces, Palaio-Pogogianni, Zagori, Kurrendas, and Grevena.

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languages were taught. The first was founded about one hundred and thirty years ago by one Ghioni, a merchant of this city, who had acquired a large fortune by commercial speculations in Valachia. He placed the funds for the support of his foundation in the bank of Venice, which failing when the French took possession of that republic, the school was afterwards supported by the liberality of an excellent family named Zosimas, long settled in Russia, Poland and Austria, and who being free from the oppression of despotic power, and enlightened by an intermixture with more civilized nations, sought, in their enthusiastic love for their native country, to pour the treasures of literature into her bosom: unable to assist her degraded sons by arms they aimed at supplying them with the more sure though slow remedies of knowledge. About three hundred scholars were taught in this seminary, at the head of which was Signore Balano, a venerable man and excellent scholar: his long white beard descending to his waist, with his mild and amiable manners, brought forcibly to the mind a picture of an ancient philosopher.* At the school over which Psalida presided, about one hundred boys were educated: it was founded only forty years since by a rich merchant named Picrozoe, born near Ioannina. To both these seminaries excellent libraries were attached, and a system of teaching, partly similar to that instituted by Dr. Bell, had been long established in this place. The Turks do not give themselves much trouble about the education of their children: a man amongst them who is able to write, is

* The geographer Meletius, a native of Ioannina, and afterwards archbishop of Athens, was master of this school, as also was the celebrated Eugenius of Corfu, who translated the Æneid into Greek hexameters. Signore Balano published a Treatise on Algebra and Arithmetic. His father and his brother were both masters of the school before him.

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looked on as a being of a superior order, and assumes vast importance by carrying a calamboio, or silver inkstand, as the sign of his mystery, stuck in his girdle. Still there were two large buildings in Ioannina appropriated to this purpose; and to every mosque a small room is attached, in which children are taught to read the Koran. As Ali cared very little about any religion, he was tolerant of all, and in no part of Turkey were the Greeks allowed so many privileges: that which they seemed to value most, was the power of calling together their congregations by a bell: the Mahometans disdain to do this by any other sound than that of the human voice; and certainly the sonorous tones of their muzzeins issuing from the light galleries of their airy minarets, and wafted over a city at the hours of prayer, produce a fine effect.

The chief commerce of Ioannina was carried on with Constantinople, Russia, Venice, and Malta. Great profit accrued to its merchants from the distribution of their imports over the smaller towns and villages of Epirus: their domestic manufactures were not numerous; indeed here, as in other countries, the state of manufactures is a fair criterion of the state of civilization: whilst the workmanship of all articles that conduce to general comfort, convenience, and utility, or to the interests of philosophy and science, was quite contemptible, great industry and considerable skill was exhibited in the embroidery of cloth, in filagree, in working silver handles for pistols, muskets, and ataghans, and in ornamenting pipe-heads.

The soil around Ioannina yields fruit and grain of most kinds in vast abundance;* the town was plentifully sup-

* Very fine apples were imported from the district of Zagori; Epirus was celebrated in ancient times for apples called orbiculata. "Orbiculata ex figura orbis in rotunditatem circumacti: hæc in Epiro primum provenisse argumento sunt Græci qui Epirotica vocant." Plin. N. Hist. l. xv. c. 14.

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plied with fish and wild-fowl from the lake, and the surrounding plains and mountains furnished plenty of game: hares, however, owing to a particular superstition, are never eaten either by Turks or Greeks. Very little animal food is consumed comparatively in Grecian cities: the diet of all ranks is spare and simple; oil enters into almost every article of culinary composition, and is relished the better for a slight taint. Botargo, which is the roe of the red or grey mullet, and caviar, which is that of the sturgeon, imported from the Black Sea, is much relished, especially during the season of religious fasts. Cow's milk is never used for diet; but that of sheep and goats, from which also a cheese is made very pungent and disagreeable to the taste. Ducks and geese were scarce at Ioannina, but fowls and turkeys very plentiful: turtle-doves were also plentiful and much esteemed, as also beccaficos in their proper season: the wine used at table was less impregnated with resin than in other parts of Greece, if we except the villainous compound drunk by the poorer classes: the chief food of those consisted of a coarse yellow polenta made of arabositi, looking very like a rice-pudding;* under an idea that it might resemble it also in taste, I once purchased a lump for a para, and was nearly choked by the first mouthful, being obliged to wash it down with a most nauseous draught of resined wine from the same shop, almost as bad as spirits of turpentine.

The climate of Ioannina is more variable than in most

* This polenta resembles the μάζα ἀμολγαίη of Hesiod, a cake made of milk and maize for labouring people. Athenæus mentions a maize cake as the food of the lower classes, who could not afford to buy bread. (Lib. xiv. 663. 6.) Such an one as eat it was sometimes called μαζαγρέτης, which signifies a voracious fellow, that would devour any thing that came in his way. Lib. xv. 686.

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other parts of Greece: in the summer the heat is oppressive; the winter is sometimes very rainy, at others extremely cold; and the inhabitants, who at one season of the year clothe themselves in the lightest apparel, at the other wrap themselves up in robes of fur: the common people preserve their shivering limbs from the severity of the weather beneath cloaks of homespun fleecy cloth. Earthquakes are common, and most frequent in the autumn: they sometimes throw down the houses, and cast even fish out of the lake upon dry ground.

Amongst maladies generally prevalent in large cities, fevers of all kinds were common at Ioannina, especially nervous ones: these arose chiefly from insalubrious dwellings, dirty habits of life, accumulation of filth in the streets, deficiency of wholesome nutriment, and above all, from the great number of Albanian troops which Ali quartered upon the citizens: this was, without exception, the most grievous imposition to which these poor people were subject; and nothing tended so much to corrupt their morals and to vitiate their manners: indeed all domestic comfort and purity of life must necessarily have been destroyed in that family upon which ten, twenty, thirty, or even forty of the most abandoned soldiery were quartered; and who joined, both officers and men, in the most wanton exercise of power, with scarcely any responsibility or dread of punishment: sometimes they were sent for the very purpose of gratifying the vizir's resentment, whether just or unjust. The venerable old Turkish gentleman whom I have mentioned as having played at chess with Mr. Parker, had been obliged for many months to support fifty of these soldiers: they broke every window in his house, destroyed all his furniture, tore down his portico for fire-wood, and obliged him to reside in the

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confined apartments of his harem, from whence not a female of his family dare stir out; and all this for some imaginary offence which he had given to the pasha: yet this person was universally considered the most inoffensive and amiable Mahometan in Ioannina. Such are the blessings of tyranny!

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CHAPTER II.

MR. COCKERELL had not left us many days before we had an opportunity of witnessing some interesting and curious scenes, in the enjoyment of which we would gladly have had his participation. One of these was the marriage feast of Giovanni Melas, an intelligent and well-educated Greek merchant. On a Saturday evening we went with Signore Nicolo to view the nocturnal procession which always accompanies the bridegroom when he escorts his betrothed from the paternal roof to that of her future husband: this consisted of near a hundred of the first persons in Ioannina, with torch-bearers and a band of music. After having received the lady, they retraced their steps, joined by an equal number of ladies, in compliment to the bride: these latter were attended by their maid-servants, many of whom carried infants in their arms dressed in prodigious finery. The little bride, who appeared extremely young, walked with slow and apparently reluctant steps, supported by a matron on each side and another behind.* At the door of his dwelling Signore Melas

* This ceremony may perhaps throw some light upon the expression of St. Paul, γυναῖκα περιάγειν (Cor. i. ix. v. 5.) misunderstood by many commentators.

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threw several handfuls of money among the crowd: we ourselves were there introduced to him, and with great politeness he ordered the band of music to accompany us back.

Next day, being Sunday, we understood that the Archbishop of Ioannina attended to place the tinsel crowns upon the heads of the new couple, light the tapers, put the rings on the fingers, and perform all the tedious mummery of a Greek wedding. The consummation of the marriage rite and the unloosening of the mystic zone is deferred till the third day of the ceremonies.

On this day a grand nuptial entertainment was given, as is usual, to which all the particular friends and connexions of the bride and bridegroom were invited. In the evening we sent our congratulations to Signore Melas, with an intimation that if agreeable we would pay our respects to him personally on his marriage. This, as we had foreseen, was considered a compliment; the band of music was sent to precede us to the house, at the door of which we found our host waiting to receive us: from thence he led us into the festive chamber and introduced us to his guests, I mean to the male part of them; since, as it has been before observed, in this semi-barbarous country the sexes are separated at convivial entertainments; a custom which throws over the amusements of society languid insipidity, or taints them with sottish degradation. We found Signore Melas's friends, after having partaken of the *equal feast*, pouring out copious libations to the rosy god, and singing hymeneal songs to the discordant harmony of fiddles and guitars. All rose up at our entrance, receiving us with every mark of attention, and seating us at the upper end of the divan, one on each side of Signore Alexi Noutza, governor of Zagori, and at that time a great favourite with the vizir: he,

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officiated for the bridegroom as master of the ceremonies.* In the interval between our introduction and supper, a fool or zany was called in to divert the company by acting with a clown a kind of pantomime, the ludicrous nature of which consisted in practical jokes and hard knocks upon the clown's pate, which strongly excited the risibility of the spectators.

We were much more pleased with the next species of entertainment, which consisted of the Albanitico, or national dance of the Albanian palikars, performed by several of the most skilful among the vizir's guards who had been invited to the feast. The evolutions and figures of this exercise served to display the astonishing activity and muscular strength of these hardy mountaineers, who grasping each other tightly by the hands, moved for a time slowly backwards and forwards, then hurried round in a quick circular movement according to the excitement of the music and their own voices in full stretch; in the meantime the coryphæus or leader, who was frequently changed, made surprising leaps, bending backwards till his head almost touched the ground, and then starting up into the air with the elastic spring of a bow, whilst his long hair flowed in wild confusion over his shoulders.† After this was finished,

* He was the chief bridesman or παράνυμφος on this occasion.

† This has been considered by many as a remnant of the ancient Pyrrhic dance: but ancient authors differ greatly regarding its nature, though it seems generally allowed to have proceeded from Crete. Τὴν Πυῤῥίχην πρῶτος εὗρε Πύῤῥιχος Κυδωνιάτης Κρὴς τὸ γένος. Nic. Damasen. de Mor. Gent. in Stobæi, Serm. xlii. Lucian also refers it to Crete, though he derives it from the sacred dances of the Curetes: de Salt. § 8. Aristoxenus, quoted by Athenæus, (lib. xiv. c. 7.) says it was an invention of Pyrrhicus, a Spartan, and calls it a military exercise: but as the laws of this country were brought from Crete, a mistake concerning the origin of a custom might easily arise. Strabo asserts (lib. x. p. 701, ed. Ox.) that the Pyrrhic was different from the armed dance, ἐνοπλίου ὀρχήσεως, and Aristophanes refers it to a species of that lascivious

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the bridegroom with several of his guests imitated their example, with less agility, but with more grace and elegance. Dancing is still considered by the modern, as it was by the ancient Greeks, a requisite accomplishment in the composition of a gentleman. By similar feats Ulysses was entertained at the Court of Alcinous, who seems to have spoken of his dancers with a regal pride: Xenophon also in his Symposium gives an interesting description of a pantomimic dance or *ballet*, which was performed at a banquet where Socrates was present: in it the parts of Bacchus and Ariadne were sustained by a youth and a female, both of great beauty, who introduced all the various circumstances of the nuptial ceremony, whilst a musician accompanied them with appropriate tunes upon the flute.

When supper was announced we all sat down, except the bridegroom, whose presence was excused, at a long table plentifully supplied with poultry, game, pilau, vari-

dance called the Κόρδαξ, for delighting in which Philip of Macedon is so lashed by Demosthenes: and hence the satirical poet condemns all who practise it to punishment in the infernal regions, Ran. 153. Most authors however consider the Pyrrhic as a military dance, and many ascribe its origin to Pyrrhus, who is said greatly to have excelled in it. From all circumstances it is not improbable that there were two kinds of Pyrrhic, the one a vile lascivious movement; the other a manly martial exercise; and this latter was chiefly practised at Sparta, where children were taught it at the early age of five years: of this latter Pyrrhic it is not improbable that the Albanitico is a remnant, since we learn from Lucian that the Spartans began like wrestlers, catching fast hold of each others hands, which practice was called ἀκροχειρίσμος. It is also singular that amongst the Mainotes the Albanitico is still best performed and held in highest repute. In the wild songs and intensely stretched voices of these palikars during the exercise, one may perhaps recognise those ὀρθίους ῥυθμοὺς which Athenæus says ought to accompany the Pyrrhic. That the name of this dance at least was acknowledged as coinciding with a martial exercise in the time of the Byzantine emperors appears from a passage of Curopalatas, who says of the soldiers under Romanus Diogenes, ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα τὴν Πυῤῥίχιον ἐκμεμελετηκότες ὄρχησιν. Excerpt. app. ad Hist. Comp. Cedreni, p. 839.

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ous made-dishes, and pastry. In token of extreme civility every person near us heaped food upon our plates, which sometimes presented such heterogenous mixtures of fish, flesh, and fowl, that if we had been obliged to eat them, this probably would have been our last meal. I observed a beautiful boy about six years old, who sat next me, cramming himself till he could scarcely breathe; and the little urchin seemed so determined that I should follow his example that he always put a share of his mess on my plate. Mr. Parker happening to sneeze at this entertainment, he was quite electrified by the boisterous congratulatory *vivas* of the guests: this custom is very general in the south of Europe, and seems to be a remnant of a very ancient superstition.* In the mean time the guests poured down copious draughts of wine, toasting the bride and bridegroom, the English Milordi, Signore Alexi, and others; and now I fancied that I could discover the meaning of old Anacreon in some of his Bacchanalian expressions, from the manner in which these Grecian topers drank, (ἀμυστὶ) many of whom filled two and others even three goblets with wine;† then taking up one with the right hand they

* The custom of "adoring the sneeze" is alluded to by many authors. Athenæus mentions it by the phrase πταρμοὺς προσκυνεῖν, referring the origin of the custom to the general idea of sanctity which was attached to the head: ὅτι ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζον τὴν κεφαλήν· lib. ii. c. 25. Xenophon in his Expedition of Cyrus (lib. iii.) relates the curious effect which an accidental sneeze had upon the whole Grecian army, who all with one accord adored it as a deity —μιᾷ ὁρμῇ ὡς θέον. By many however the sneeze was considered rather in the light of a disease, or at least as the indication of one, and thence arose the ancient form of civility from the bystanders in the words ΖΕΥ ΖΩΣΟΝ, from which the Italian Viva is derived, and the English expression of "God bless you."

† A great distinction between the ancient and the modern topers of Greece is, that the latter never mingle water with their wine, though the former observed this custom very generally:

Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐν κρητῆρσι καὶ ὕδωρ·

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applied it to their lips, pouring the contents of the other two into it with the left, and never moving the cup from the mouth till the whole of the liquor was dispatched: these triplets were received by the rest of the company with unbounded applause. Possibly the celebrated Thracian Amystis may have been a similar trial of Bacchanalian skill, and not a goblet, as it is generally rendered.

Neu multi Damalis meri
Bassum Threicia vincat AMYSTIDE.

The feast was kept up with great merriment and noise till Signore Melas came in to pay us the highest compliment in his power, by introducing us into the gynæconitis, where the ladies were assembled. In passing through the gallery we observed a quantity of rich bed-furniture, consisting of purple velvet embroidered with gold, which is always sent with the bride and displayed for public admiration upon these occasions. We had heard that Ioannina was celebrated for the beauty and fine complexion of its females; and certainly we were not disappointed when

They even worshipped the Acrotopotes or pure-wine-drinker as a being worthy of divine honours (Athenæi, lib. ii. p. 39): they classed their wines into two sorts, the ὀλιγοφόροι and πολυφόροι, according to the proportion of water they would bear. Plutarch mentions three different mixtures in use: 1st. Three parts of water to two of wine: 2nd. Two of water to one of wine: and 3d. Three of water to one of wine (Symp. l. iii. Q. 9). But Athenæus reports that there was another in vogue amongst determined Bacchanalians; this was the πέντε-καὶ-δύω or 5 parts of wine to 2 of water. Some wines are reported to have admitted 20 parts of water to 1 of wine! Vid. Odyss. ι. 209, and Hippocrat. lib. ii. de Morb. in fin. The ancients tempered their wines with cold or warm water, according to the season or the state of their stomachs; but that which sounds most extraordinary, is the mixture of sea-water and wine, the οἶνος θαλασσόμενος, as it is called by Hippocrates. I used to have my doubts about the passage of Horace respecting the Chium maris expers, and was inclined to agree with those who considered it as home-brewed, until I found the custom explicitly mentioned by Athenæus (lib. i. c. 19), who says that under it

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we entered into the apartment where a party of the most charming women in that capital were collected together. They sat in a large circle round the room, superbly attired; but the liquid lustre of their eyes far outshone the jewels that sparkled in their raven tresses. The reflection came forcibly across the mind,—what brutes the men must be who could desert the society of such master-pieces of excelling nature, to indulge in the low gratifications of riotous intemperance! By the smiles and whispers that went round the circle, we soon perceived that our appearance excited much curiosity, and that our persons and every article of our dress became subjected to the minutest scrutiny: we were seated on each side the little bride, who was scarcely twelve years of age, and was comparatively so girlish, that it required a stretch of imagination to consider her in the character of a matron: she was magnificently dressed, the value of the jewels with which she was adorned being estimated at about 2000*l.* An ancient family appendage * in the shape of an old nurse, stood near her, and this Argus was actively employed in guarding her charge, and repelling the advances of Signore Melas, who was anxious to impress the marks of his affection upon the lips of his betrothed. One of the Albanian guards having brought in coffee, the young lady arose, and with a very pretty air handed it to Mr. Parker and myself, who were obliged to suffer this inversion of the right order of things, and accommodate ourselves to the custom of the place. We observed that her manners and deportment

the allegory of Bacchus flying to the sea is veiled: ἡδὺν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν οἶνον, παρεγχεομένης θαλάσσης. Certainly this mixture could scarcely be more nauseous than the *vino resinato* of the moderns, which becomes palatable by habit. The Romaic name for wine is κρασὶ, which, like the word crater, is derived from the ancient custom of mixing water with it.

* That παλαιὸν κτῆμα of the Greek tragedians.

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were accompanied with great mildness and affability; but her features had not sufficiently expanded for us to judge of their expression: it appeared as if her countenance might become interesting without being handsome: she was a daughter of the chief primate of Ioannina, and her dowry was said to be very considerable. After remaining here about an hour we took our leave; but in quitting the room we remarked a number of faces peeping out of an opposite latticed window, and found that a large party of young unmarried girls had been keeping the feast in a different apartment, separated both from men and women. The band of music accompanied us back to our lodging, where we arrived about midnight.

The scene we had witnessed naturally gave rise to some reflections upon the state of that sex whose influence has, in general, so great an effect upon society. The degradation of women in Greece is owing principally to a faulty education, and an early seclusion from that society which they are intended to ameliorate and adorn: but indeed if the first of these evils were removed, the second would soon vanish—for when good principles and a sense of moral duties are early distilled into the mind, there is no need of seclusion or confinement. 'Women who know their duties are as apt to practise them as men, and possessing a greater share of sensibility, are more easily led to cultivate the mild and social virtues.' Of all the countries which we visited, I saw none where this false system of treatment was more to be regretted than in Greece. To judge from the countenances of the Grecian females, they exhibit a vivacity and brilliancy of expression that denote a high degree of sentiment and genius: they appear also naturally to possess affectionate and kind dispositions, without any tendency to that spirit of profligacy which characterises the sex in many coun-

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Drawn by C.R. Cockerell Esq.

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tries of the South: but what can be expected from the system that is pursued? As soon as a girl approaches the age of puberty, she is as studiously shut up from public sight as a catholic nun: in the interior of the Gynekaios she is confined, but taught nothing beyond the art of embroidery or a few other such frivolous accomplishments, and, if her nurse or mother should be able to read, is instructed in the science of relics, the history of miracle-mongers, and other absurdities which superstition has engrafted upon religion: as soon as she arrives at a marriageable age, she is affianced by her family, as a matter of convenience or sordid interest, and may be reckoned lucky if she find a parity of age in her partner for life. Rarely indeed is the hymeneal torch lighted here at the altar of love; all preliminaries are carried on by the intervention of a third party; no opportunity is given to a young couple of acquiring that knowledge of each other's character which is so essential to connubial happiness; there is nothing to excite those tender anxieties and delicate attentions which interest and refine the soul: the wishes of the parties most concerned are not thought of; the suitor expects nothing from his bride but a silent acquiescence in the will of others, and the girl herself, anxious for liberty, gives her consent without consulting or even knowing the inclinations of her heart. Very curious surprises sometimes take place, when the bridegroom goes to fetch his affianced spouse. The beautiful infant turns out a picture of deformity; or the plain child is transformed into an angelic woman.

Nothing can exceed the anxiety of parents and friends in this country to contract a marriage for their girls.* The

* Thus it was with the ancient Greeks: nothing seems to have been deprecated among them so much as that a female should remain unmarried.

Ἀνύμφευτος αἰὲν οἰχνῶ
δάερυσι μυδαλέα· says the wretched Electra.

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brothers in a family make it an invariable rule not to marry until their sisters are disposed of; the truth of which was confirmed to me by the most respectable authority. The strongest instance I met with of this zeal was in a poor decayed tradesman of Ioannina, whom the exactions of the vizir, and failures in commercial speculations, had reduced to the last stage of poverty: his still venerable, though melancholy appearance, so excited our compassion that we contributed a sum of money for his relief, which might possibly, with good management and fortune, have enabled him to regain a tolerable livelihood; but he chose rather to give it all as a dowry with a beautiful daughter, to a young Greek, who, according to custom, refused to marry her without one.

If the system pursued with regard to females in Greece were found efficient in preserving the morals uncorrupted, and the inclinations steady on the side of virtue, something might be said in its favour: but I am afraid that ignorance and seclusion are quite as bad safeguards of innocence as freedom and cultivation: there will be this difference indeed, that in one case vice will exist divested of all refinement, and immorality exhibit itself in the grossest form: the mind too, unable to enjoy intellectual pleasures, will yield more easily to the seductive influence of the passions. One of the few Greeks whom I found aware of this injurious tendency, was the very person whose marriage gave rise to the foregoing observations. A more frequent intercouse having made me better acquainted with this intelligent young man, I discovered that the real motive of his marriage with so youthful a bride, was a wish to release her from the fetters of prejudice, that he might place her under the care of his own mother, study her temper, direct her education, make the

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first years of matrimony only the latter end of courtship, and thus qualify his wife to become his companion and his friend. These enlightened views of Signore Melas may in great measure be attributed to that intercourse with society to which his continental travels had introduced him.

It is a curious fact that the ancient Greeks were guilty of similar errors in the education of their women: they seem to have been careless of all qualities and endowments in a wife, except modesty and domestic management.* Those women amongst them who are noted for talent, and conspicuous in the list of fame, were for the most part of that class who acquired cultivation at the expence of virtue: they were a superior kind of courtesans, forming a middle rank between the prostitute and the wife, and designated by the title of "female companions," *ETAIPAI*: these persons, knowing that to gain universal admiration they must also acquire the polish of education and accomplishment, boldly threw off restraint, and associated freely with the men, studied their tastes, infused life into their convivial entertainments, and splendor into their establishments: hence they became not only mistresses to the young and dissipated, but instructresses of statesmen, and companions of philosophers.

Such examples are sometimes met with amongst the modern Greeks, though the difficulties in the way of emancipation and the cultivation of talent are now greater than they were formerly. The tragic story of the unfor-

* The following speech of Telemachus to his mother, the prudent Penelope, puts this in a strong point of view.

'Αλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σαυτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε
'Ιστὸν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
Ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· μῦθος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει, &c. Od. α. 356.

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tunate Phrosini is known to the English reader; but as many of its circumstances have been inaccurately detailed, I shall venture upon its repetition. This young beauty was celebrated in Ioannina, not more for graces of person, than for those of mind, which made her the life and soul of society, with which she freely mixed. I have heard the gravest persons dwell with rapture upon the remembrance of her talents and the pleasure of her conversation: unfortunately, however, she had formed connexions of a tender nature with Mouchtar Pasha; and feeling proud of holding so exalted a personage in her chains, exerted her influence over him to such a degree that she excited a violent jealousy in the mind of his wife, a high-spirited and imperious woman, who interested her sister also, the wife of Vely Pasha, in her cause. Some time elapsed before they could gain any proof against the object of their hatred, but at last an opportunity occurred. A jeweller one day brought to Mouchtar's wife a brilliant ring of great value, which she recognised as a wedding present made to her faithless spouse, and which she found had been left with this man for sale by her beautiful rival: having gained possession of the ornament, she sent instantly for her sister, who accompanied her to the palace of the vizir; when being admitted into his presence, they raised a terrible outcry, and demanded redress for the contempt thus brought upon them by the intrigues of Phrosini. Ali, who at this time preserved his influence in Upper Albania by means of his daughters-in-law, and had actually contrived through their aid to cheat poor Ibrahim Pasha, their father, out of some very important territory, felt unwilling to displease them: raising them therefore from the ground, he swore by the beard of Mahomet that their just desires of revenge should be indulged

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It was also confidently reported that he had at this time a criminal intrigue with the wife of Vely, and that he could refuse nothing to her solicitations.

Trusting none of his officers with the execution of his commands, lest they might either give alarm to Mouchtar, or become the objects of his future resentment, he went himself at the dead of night, attended by his body-guard, to the house of the unsuspecting victim. Having gained admittance, and procured a lamp, he proceeded at once into her chamber, awoke her from sleep, and holding out the ring, inquired if she recognised it. The unfortunate creature immediately read her fate in the stern countenance of the tyrant; deceit was useless, and she confessed the fact: she endeavoured however to mollify him by the most pathetic appeals, which he rejected; and to bribe him with all her jewels and other treasures, of which he greedily took possession: in a severe tone of voice he then ordered her to arise, put on her clothes, and follow him. At the folding doors of the court he delivered her into the custody of the patrole, permitting one favourite maid alone to attend her mistress. They were conducted to a Greek church on the borders of the lake, and soon afterwards about twenty suspected women of the lower ranks were conveyed to the same place of confinement: there they passed the night in prayer, expecting every moment to be their last. The next day however came to a close without the fatal order being given. The despot himself seemed struck with remorse, and hesitated before he could sign the sentence of death: he even declared afterwards, that he waited only for proper intercession to spare their lives. One man indeed, a poor Greek, did present himself before him to beg the life of his guilty spouse, who was amongst the unfortunates locked up with Phrosini: the vizir

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laughing aloud, asked him if he were content to live in wedlock with a prostitute? and on the man's replying in the affirmative, he gave an order for her release. The execution of the rest took place at night; they were taken in a barge from the church to some distance on the lake, tied up in sacks, and precipitated into the deep: Phrosini and her faithful maid, watching an opportunity, when the guards were inattentive, clasped each other in their arms, and plunged into the water to rise no more. If this charming person had been fortunately united by more lasting ties to her lover, how different his character might have been! To those who think otherwise, we may reply in the words of the great Corneille, "Vous ne savez pas ce que c'est qu' une femme: vous ignorez quels droits elle a sur toute l'ame."

Drowning is the general punishment for incontinency inflicted by the Mahometan rulers upon their female subjects, both Turkish and Greek: but if one of their own women should be caught intriguing with a Christian, such an insult upon the faith is not to be expiated but by the severest retribution and the most public example. The following scene is copied from Mr. Jones's MS. Journal, having occurred during his residence in Ioannina.

"On the day when I departed for the north of Albania, a Turkish girl, of extraordinary beauty, was stoned to death. As my two friends and myself were proceeding to the palace, we heard a person proclaiming something in the Turkish language; and on inquiring of our interpreter, we found it was an order for 'every true believer in the faith of Mahomet' to go and throw a stone at this poor girl. Her crime was that of intriguing with

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a Christian, a Neapolitan in the vizir's service, for which the laws of Turkey subjected her to this horrible punishment.

"The interviews between herself and her lover had been facilitated by a Jew; but this worthy descendant of Iscariot was the first person to betray them: he supped at the Neapolitan's table on the fatal evening, and had scarcely retired from it half an hour before his information caused them to be arrested by the Turkish guard. The following morning, Gelisem (this was the unfortunate girl's name) was condemned to die. Soon after sentence was passed, her face was uncovered and exposed to the public gaze, which is the greatest indignity that can be offered to a Turkish female. She was then conducted, amidst the groans and curses of the Mahometans, to a plain at a short distance from the town; and had no sooner reached the fatal spot, than she was partly stripped, and her long black tresses loosened about her neck and shoulders. One would suppose that her appearance at this moment might have disarmed even Turks of their vengeance: but no! she was obliged to descend into a hole dug for the purpose, when these barbarians began to pelt her with stones, uttering at the same time a volley of groans and curses. She was tortured thus for nearly a quarter of an hour, the pebbles being inconsiderable in size and striking her mostly about the neck and shoulders: at length an Albanian soldier, who had more humanity than the rest, took up a large stone, and, throwing it upon her head, put an end to her misery. She was then left buried under the mass.

"The Neapolitan's fate can be considered as little less severe. After having been permitted to remain at Ioannina long enough to witness the barbarities exercised upon his mistress, he was cruelly beaten and then sent to be impri-

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soned in the city of Argyro-Castro, where the plague was violenty raging, and where two-thirds of the inhabitants had already fallen victims to its fury. The people indeed demanded his blood, and Ali spread a report that he had been executed; but being his principal engineer, he could not spare him for sacrifice.*

"What rendered the fate of these unfortunate lovers more melancholy was, that the girl, who was but nineteen years old, was in a state of pregnancy, and the man wished to marry her; but this could not be permitted, according to the laws of the country. I was informed, however, that he might have saved her life as well as his own by renouncing his religion. The girl too had means of escaping the punishment of death; but she afforded a singular instance of female heroism as well as of that extraordinary attachment which the Turks bear to their religion. When she arrived at the fatal hole dug in the ground, she was desired by the priest to leap into it, '*if a true believer in Mahomet:—if not, to leap over it.*' She took the former resolution, though the consequence of not doing so would have been the preservation of her life: she would indeed have been degraded, scouted, and spit upon by the Turks; but her life would have been spared.

"Of course, we had no wish to be spectators of this horrid scene; nor should we have been permitted to see it, so enraged were the Mahometans against the Christians, or, as they are pleased to term them, 'the Infidels.' Indeed it was said at the time (and considering the source from whence I received the information, I have reason to believe it true) that a dervish went to the vizir next day, and represented to him the necessity of sacrificing thirty

* The name of this man was Carretto; he commanded the guns of the fortress when Ioannina was destroyed, and his desertion to Ali's foes was one of the proximate causes of the vizir's fall.

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Christian heads, in order to save the girl's soul; but Ali had him turned immediately out of the room. Had this measure been adopted, my head might possibly have counted as one.

"We walked through the streets this day as usual; but were afterwards told that we had acted imprudently in doing so. There are certainly many parts of Turkey where we might have been exposed to the fury of the Mahometans: but considering the authority of Ali Pasha, as well as his extreme care not only to protect but even to please the English, I believe we incurred very little danger."

Thus these barbarians treat that weak and gentle sex, whom they themselves drive into error, instead of endeavouring to retain them within the path of virtue: not only do they totally neglect their education and improvement, but by their polygamical institution, that gross violation of Nature's law and the social compact, they destroy at once all those tender affections which are the strongest inducements to chastity and virtue. The emancipation of females from tyrannical prejudices will be slow but certain among the Greeks, and they will ultimately attain the proper station to which they are entitled; but with the Turks the case is very different, and almost hopeless: for amelioration is opposed by the detestable principles of their religion, if indeed it can be called a religion, which teaches that women are born but for the gratification of man and the propagation of the species; which turns them into slaves; and perpetuates the degrading inferiority by denying them participation even in the public worship of their Creator.

The marriage ceremony among the Mahometans is very

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simple, being merely a civil contract signed and witnessed before the cadi: the Greek rites are numerous and absurd, but have often been described: as an Albanian wedding however may possibly be new to the reader, I shall finish this chapter with the account of one which I received from a friend who was present at the ceremony.

"The bridegroom goes on horseback to the dwelling of the bride: he is there presented with an immense loaf, which he breaks into pieces and throws to the spectators at the door, who are all very eager to procure a piece. When he enters he is invited by the parents to sit down to eat and drink, a ceremony which is generally most voraciously complied with: the mother kisses the bridegroom, and ties round his neck a handkerchief, a present from his fair one and sometimes embroidered by her hands. The duty of the priest is generally performed in the house or garden, it not being at all necessary that it should take place in the church: they then mount on horseback, the bridegroom first, dressed in his best apparel, and carefully wrapped in cloaks, looking very downcast, and supported by his friends, as if he were unable to endure so awful a ceremony: the bride is veiled, but loaded with finery, which is either her own, or borrowed for the occasion: at some distance from the house they are met by their friends and the young girls of the neighbourhood, who dance before them to music, which is accompanied by the voices of the party; and this is by far the most interesting part of the ceremony. On arriving at the house, the father of the bride receives her in his arms at the door, and while she is apparently forced to enter, throws a pomegranate against the wall as an omen of fertility; the mother of the bridegroom presents her with honey, corn and oil, and winding a shawl round them both, she, together with the relations, drag them into

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the apartment, the bride affecting great reluctance and resistance: she is there unveiled, and is obliged to stand with downcast eyes, like a statue, against the wall: after this she is saluted by the relations and friends, and is ready to receive any little presents which they may be generous enough to offer. They then sit down to a feast, prepared according to the means of the family, all except the bride, who frequently remains standing many hours whilst the company eat, and bows with great complaisance to every one that drinks her health."

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CHAPTER III.

On the morning after the marriage feast, we received an invitation to accompany Mouchtar Pasha in a grand shooting excursion upon the lake. We lost no time in preparing our fowling pieces, and descended to the quay accompanied by Nicolo and his brother Giovanni, where we found two caiques waiting for us by the Pasha's orders: all the others belonging to Ioannina, amounting to more than a hundred, were engaged for the sport: we observed them already moving towards the southern extremity of the lake like a Lilliputian fleet, and our boatmen redoubling their efforts, we soon overtook them: each caique, besides the rower, contained one or more sportsmen, with as many guns as they could collect. For a considerable distance the squadron moved forward in a strait line, driving before it myriads of wild fowl of every species, until at length the boats at the extremities shot a-head, and formed a curvilinear line, enclosing a large space of water. As this circle narrowed itself, the birds confined within began to rise in dark masses like clouds, and to fly over our heads. Then the firing commenced and continued about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, until the

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surface of the water was strewed with wild-fowl. We were stationed near the centre of this circle, close to the Pasha, who had about twenty guns in his boat, with one of his Albanians to load them as quick as they were discharged. He was an excellent shot, and rarely missed his bird: it is said that he could shoot a hare when he was on horseback at full gallop, but this feat we never witnessed. Some of his guns were of a great length, and he was so much surprised at seeing me bring down a bird at a long shot, with a very short fowling piece, that he requested me to send it for his inspection into the caique. After the sportsmen had picked up their game, the squadron was again set in motion, to pursue the wild fowl which had retreated to a different part of the lake: the scene was exceedingly beautiful, for the sun shone brilliantly, and the snow-capt mountains, with the convents villages and cypress groves upon the banks, were finely reflected in the transparent water: the firing from the boats had the effect of a naval engagement in miniature, the echoes of the musketry being increased and prolonged amidst the folds of the surrounding hills: hundreds of eagles and vultures flying around the shores of the lake, flapping their enormous wings, and screaming as it were with delight in the prospect of their prey, added much to the grandeur of the scene. After we had been thus engaged about four hours, the vizir himself made his appearance in his state barge, but did not join in the sport; soon afterwards the wind began to rise, and occasioned rather a heavy swell; the signal was then given for dispersion, and the caiques all hastened with their loads towards the city. Mouchtar however had prepared a dinner at the house of one of his retainers on the island, of which he invited us to partake: accordingly we landed at the village, and found very excellent fare provided in a house

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remarkable for its extreme neatness and cleanliness. We were placed on each side of the Pasha at the corner of the divan, whilst two Albanian officers and Nicolo, who was honoured with an invitation, knelt upon the floor, to bring their mouths on a level with the little round table, or tin tray, upon which the provisions were laid. My friend and myself alone had plates, and we all helped ourselves without reserve, by means of our fingers, from the same dish, except that now and then the Pasha and his guests, for the sake of compliment, dashed a few handfuls of a mess upon our plates. A young Albanian Ganymede, with flowing hair and embroidered apparel, stood behind Mouchtar, with a pitcher of wine and a goblet, from which he helped his master and the rest of the party: our fare was pilau, excellent ragouts, fish boiled and fried, fowls and pastry, to the number of about thirty dishes. Soon after we had dispatched our meal, we left the pasha to the enjoyment of his siesta and strolled about the village; whose neat comfortable mansions and clean streets, as well as the orderly behaviour and industrious habits of the people, put to shame all other places which we visited in this country. Passing by a decent church we came into a pretty square, where we observed several stone seats, in which the old men of the village used to sit basking in the evening sun, after their daily labours, to witness the sports and enjoyments of the youth.* I never observed a greater appearance of content and happiness than among this people; it was such a favourite place of resort with Mouchtar, and so useful to

* Upon mentioning this circumstance to a learned friend, he suggested that it was a good commentary upon a passage of the Medea:

Πεσσοὺς προσελθὼν ἔνθα δὴ παλαίτατοι
Θάσσουσι σεμνὸν ἀμφὶ Πειρήνης ὕδωρ.

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him in the pursuit of his sport, that he governed it not only with mildness, but with great partiality. From the village we wandered over the island, delighted with the fine prospects it affords, and on returning to the house took coffee and smoked several pipes with the pasha before we separated. As the night was fine and clear, Mouchtar, who was insatiable in all amusements, ordered his caique to row towards the upper lake, where he intended to spend some hours in shooting: we bent our course towards the city, listening to the songs of the Albanian boatmen, and viewing the reflection of the lights from the castron in the rippling surface of the water. For several days after this excursion we were nearly confined to the house by continual rain, though the time was in some measure lightened by the society of Mr. Foresti and Mr. Pouqueville, and by occasional visits from the friends and connexions of our host.

February 10th.—On this day we received a compliment which we little expected, and for which we were indebted to the kind intercession of Mr. Foresti: it was an invitation from the vizir to accompany him to a splendid feast given at the house of Signore Alexi and to dine at his own table: to this honour he had never before admitted any foreigner, of the highest distinction, except the late Lord Guilford; even Sir John Stuart, and General Airey governor of the Ionian Isles, though invited to a dinner, were seated at different tables apart from the vizir. We received intimation of the honour awaiting us just after we had finished our own dinner, but we willingly took the chance of death by a surfeit, for the satisfaction of dining with Ali Pasha. We had scarcely time to array ourselves in our best apparel before one of the chaoushes was at the door to precede us through the streets; and we set out accompanied by our host.

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All the approaches to Alexi's mansion, as well as the court and galleries, were crowded with Albanian guards and others in the pasha's train. The rooms were brilliantly lighted up, and the clang of cymbals, drums, and other Turkish instruments, denoted the presence of a potentate. We stopped for a short time in a large anteroom, where the vizir's band was playing to a troop of dancing boys, dressed in the most effeminate manner, with flowing petticoats of crimson silk, and silver-clasped zones round the waist: they were revolving in one giddy and interminable circle; twisting their pliant bodies into the most contorted figures and lascivious gestures; throwing about their arms and heads like infuriated Bacchanals; and sometimes bending back their bodies till their long hair actually swept the ground, illustrating thereby a distich of Claudian which has not unfrequently been misunderstood by his commentators.

> Quis melius vibrata puer vertigine molli
> Membra rotet? verrat quis marmora crine supino?
> In Eutrop. ii. 359.

Another Latin poet describes these dances so accurately, that I cannot forbear quoting the lines.

> Juvat et vago rotatu
> Dare fracta membra ludo,
> Simulare vel trementes
> Pede, veste, voce Bacchas.

As we entered the banqueting room we observed the vizir seated as usual, at a corner of the divan, upon cushions of rich silk. Next to him sat a Turkish nobleman, named Mazout Effendi, one of the most venerable men I ever beheld, with a long white beard hanging over his breast, that exceeded even the vizir's by at least six inches: this old gentleman lived at Constantinople, but

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generally came to spend a few months in the year with Ali; being a great favourite on account of his convivial propensities. Below Mazout sat the Archbishop of Ioannina, with the two epitropi or Greek primates; so that the whole party, with ourselves, made up seven, the exact number of the Platonic symposium. Signore Alexi, the owner of the mansion, coming out from the midst of a crowd of Greeks that stood at the lower end of the divan, advanced with us towards the pasha, who received us with every mark of civility, and motioned us to sit down upon the sofa at his right hand. He then ordered Psalida to act as interpreter, who came up with a face decked in smiles and reverently kissed the hem of his master's garment, in token of submission to his commands. Ali was evidently in extreme good humour, and dealt out his jokes and sallies of wit profusely, which of course had the effect of producing peals of laughter: at last, turning to me, and stroking his long white beard, he asked if the people in England wore beards: I replied, only the Jews; at which he seemed as if he scarcely knew whether to smile or frown. Old Mazout in the mean time preserved the most dignified silence and demeanour, nor did his impenetrable countenance once relax into a smile.* I scarcely thought it was in the power of Bacchus himself to turn this venerable Polysperchon† into such a merry rogue and very buffoon as he afterwards exhibited himself: in fact, we learned that the striking contrast between his extreme gravity when sober and his boisterous vivacity when half seas over, rendered him so great a favourite with the vizir that he never went to

* His appearance might be accurately delineated in the words of Lucian, who is describing a philosophic character at an entertainment. Σεμνός τις ἰδεῖν καὶ θεσπεσὴς καὶ πολὺ τὸ κόσμιον ἐπιφαίνων τῷ προσώπῳ. Conviv. §. 7.

† Vid. Athen. Deipn. l. iv. 155.

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an entertainment without him whilst he resided in Ioannina.

After the lapse of about half an hour the lady of the house came forward with a silver pitcher and ewer, and a finely embroidered napkin thrown over her arm: having advanced to the vizir and made her obeisance she poured out warm water into the basin, with which he washed his hands, turning up his loose sleeves for this purpose, and washing half way up to the elbow:* after he had finished his ablution, the water was brought to us and the other guests: this custom certainly seems requisite in a country where the modern use of knives and forks is entirely precluded by that precedency which is given to the fingers. The vizir now motioned us to draw round a circular tin-tray which had been scraped bright for the ceremony (ξεστὴ τράπεζα), and we accordingly ranged ourselves at his right hand upon rich velvet cushions, several of which were placed one upon the other for our accommodation: on his left sat Mazout Effendi, the rest of the space being filled by the archbishop and the primates. Rich scarfs were then thrown over our shoulders, and napkins placed before us, so embroidered with gold as to serve for no earthly purpose but that of decoration: a fine silken shawl being laid upon the vizir's knees, he courteously spread it out and extended it to Mr. Parker and myself.

Before dinner a dessert, or antecœnium, was placed upon the table, consisting of apples, dried fruits, and sweetmeats. After some of the party had nibbled an almond or swallowed a raisin, this quickly disappeared, and a tureen of thick soup was placed by the mistress of the

* Does not this tend to confirm the interpretation which some commentators give to the word πυγμῇ in St. Mark's Gospel, c. vii. v. 3, which seems wrongly translated in our version by the expression "oft"?

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family before the guests; into this the vizir first dipped his *wooden* spoon, and was followed by the rest of the company: next came a roasted lamb, brought in by a servant, to which all fingers round the table were immediately applied, stripping the meat from off one side till the ribs were fairly exposed to view: I ought to observe that in deference to national customs knives and forks were placed before the Englishmen, which however they thought proper to dispense with as much as possible: the lamb was followed by a brace of partridges, which the vizir took up in both his hands and placed one upon Mr. Parker's plate and the other upon my own, as a token of extreme condescension: scarcely however had they lain there a moment, when they suddenly disappeared like Sancho Panza's delicacies, being snatched up by the dirty fingers of the bare-legged Albanian guards who stood around us: this however was done merely to relieve us from the trouble of carving; for when they had pulled them limb from limb, they very carefully and respectfully replaced them on our plates; and in this manner was every fowl, or duck, or any other species of poultry served, which the courtesy of the vizir and of the other guests induced them to offer us: indeed these marks of civility were showered down so thick upon us that I was quite surprised how we survived this day's cramming; especially when it is considered that we had eaten our regular dinner before we came to the feast, and that etiquette in this country demands that the guests should at least taste all the dishes set before them.

No liquor was drunk at this entertainment but wine, which several beautiful youths from the vizir's seraglio stood to pour out from pitchers into glass goblets. Two pages would scarcely be sufficient to describe the different viands which were placed upon the table singly and se-

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parately, and upon which the first-rate culinary science in Turkey seemed to have been lavished; some of the ragouts and piquant sauces would not have disgraced the civic table of a lord-mayor: the most insipid article was the pastry, which was nothing more than cakes of meal, honey, and pistachio nuts. We had to run the gauntlet for about two hours through eighty-six dishes, all placed singly before the guests in a varied succession of roast and boiled meats, fish, stews, pastry, game, and wild-fowl, &c. until the dessert again appeared. In the mean time the Ganymedes had not been idle with their pitchers and goblets, and Signore Alexi, the οἰνόπτης of the feast, supplied them with his best quadrimum. Old Mazout had once or twice during dinner shown symptoms of the Bacchic fury rising within him, by throwing open a sash window behind the divan, and joining in chorus with the Albanian band that was playing and singing in the ante-room. The vizir however now ordered him to be plied with larger and more frequent goblets; and, as he was very fond upon these occasions of seeing every one around him inebriated, he commanded the crowd of Greeks to advance from the lower end of the room and to drink like fishes: as for himself he took only a moderate portion of wine, and very considerately requested Mr. Parker and me to follow his example.

The fumes of the wine began at length to operate so strongly upon old Mazout that his tongue seemed resolved to make amends for the silence to which he had previously doomed it: he sang droll songs in the Turkish language, exerted his lungs in the most violent shouts, rolled about upon the divan, and throwing off his turban exhibited his bare head to view, whilst the spectators, and especially the vizir, were convulsed with laughter. Soon afterwards he called the dancing boys into the room, and snatching

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a tambourine from the hands of their leader, jumped and capered about, beating the instrument like an ancient Silenus: he then endeavoured to catch the boy, who eluded his grasp with the pliability of an eel, whilst the old fellow, failing in many of his attempts, fell flat upon the ground to the no small merriment of the by-standers: in the midst of this interlude however Mazout several times ran up to Ali, caught him with his arms round the neck, and almost suffocated him with embraces, kissing him on the forehead and bosom, and addressing him with expressions of the most fond attachment: from the vizir he ran off again to the dancing boys, and at last seizing their coryphæus, he nearly stifled him with caresses; then dragging him up to the divan, he coaxed Ali to give him a handful of small gold coins, which he wetted with his spittle and stuck like spangles over the boy's face, who struggled very hard to get free, that he might pocket the affront.

When the dancers had quitted the room the toasts began to circulate with great rapidity, all of which were given in full bumpers. Ali gave the health of the Prince Regent, and the Royal Family of Great Britain; in return for which we drank to the prosperity of his house and dynasty, and to the immortal memory of Pyrrhus, his heroic *ancestor*. At length I proposed a toast by way of experiment, to see the effect which it would produce: this was—health and prosperity to Salee Bey—the vizir's youngest and favourite son, whom it was strongly conjectured he designed for his successor. This proposal was received with evident satisfaction by the vizir, and by the most rapturous applause from all the company; Ali took a full bumper, old Mazout three, and the archbishop, who had for some time fought shy, demanded two; Psalida reiterated his shouts with Stentorian lungs; Alexi or-

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dered a fresh cask to be tapped, that all might do justice to the toast, and the Greeks encircling the vizir and kissing the hem of his robes, tossed off glass after glass till he desired them to forbear. This toast, by-the-bye, was proposed and drunk twice again during the evening; but no one thought of giving the health either of Mouchtar or Vely. Soon after this ebullition, the archbishop prudently decamped; and Psalida, who had for some time been guilty of clipping the vizir's Greek, being led off the field hors de combat, our host Nicolo occupied his place as interpreter of tongues.

During a short interval of quiet, I took the opportunity of asking Ali whether there was any truth in the report that he intended Salee Bey to enjoy the advantages of foreign travel by visiting the different European courts: to this he answered, that the plan had been strongly recommended to him, and that he had taken it into serious consideration; but it was so contrary to the custom of his countrymen that he felt obliged to decline it. He asked how we liked Ioannina, and whether our host conducted himself well towards us: upon our answering that he was a good fellow (καλὸς ἄνθρωπος), he shook his head and said —"His father was." He then desired us, in his usual hyperbolical style, to consider all his possessions as our own, and commanding silence in the room, he declared in a loud tone, that he should consider no man his friend who did not show us civility and attention. Some time before this speech was ended old Mazout began to be very impatient, and at length commenced a humorous song, which alas! he was unable to finish; for unfortunately overbalancing himself in one of his outrageous attitudes, he fell off the sofa and rolled under the table: whilst he lay there, the Greeks seeing how the vizir was inclined, seemed to forget that awe which the presence of

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an autocrat, upon whose breath their very lives depended, might inspire; so they began to play all sorts of practical jokes upon each other, tripping up heels, knocking off calpacs, and exploding detonating balls: the noise and confusion thus occasioned roused old Mazout Effendi from his trance; for, starting up in a species of delirium, he thrust his hand and arm through the sash window behind him: the joke seemed to be relished; Signore Alexi put his arm through another pane, and Mazout immediately broke in the whole sash with his hands and feet: all the Greeks now fell to, and in like manner demolished every window in the apartment, amidst the loud laughter of Ali, and the Bacchanalian triumph of the Effendi, who ran to caress the vizir after every feat which he performed.

When this work of destruction was finished, Ali gave the signal for breaking up the party; and silence immediately succeeded to yells which a few minutes before would have astounded an Indian war-tribe. The Greeks now retired to the bottom of the room, the pitcher and ewer with warm water were again introduced, and the customary ablutions performed: then several guards entered and preceded the vizir with long wax tapers to the head of the staircase, where he stopped a few minutes, asked for his English friends, and took a very courteous leave of us. At the outer door, in the area, stood several hundreds of his Albanian retinue with a fine Arabian charger richly caparisoned: vaulting into his saddle he set off in a gallop towards the serai of Litaritza, followed by his motley crew, some on horseback, others on foot, shouting, waving their torches, and running at full speed to keep up with their chief. Mr. Parker and myself walked silently home, listening to the retreating uproar as it lessened on the ear; and when we arrived at Signore

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Nicolo's mansion we stared at each other and asked mutually whether it was not all a dream?*

Next day the sun had not run through half his course ere it was known to every person of note in Ioannina that the two English milordi had dined with the vizir: in consequence our room for several successive mornings was crowded with visitors, and from this time we enjoyed the most free intercourse with the society of the place. Among the earliest arrivals was our late host Signore Alexi Noutza, who was evidently considered the first of the Greeks, and stood highest in the despot's favour: this favour however he was obliged to retain by great sacrifices; for it was but a short time since he had presented him with a complete service of plate, executed in the most superb style at Vienna; and yesterday very magnificent gifts were sent to the inmates of his harem, as was customary when he honoured one of his subjects with his company at dinner. Alexi's father had been the principal instrument in gaining for Ali the Pashalic of Ioannina; in remembrance of which service he made the son governor of Zagori, one of the four districts into which the province is divided. It lies N. E. of the city on the other side of Mitzikeli, including forty-eight towns and villages, over which Alexi had ruled with more rapacity than the vizir himself, doubling or even trebling the taxes laid upon this unfortunate district and putting the surplus into his own coffers. At Ioannina his levees were attended by the principal inhabitants, and his society was as much courted as if he were a pasha himself. I have often seen him mounted upon a

* If the reader wishes to compare ancient and modern customs at convivial entertainments in Greece, and to observe the remarkable similarity still preserved between many of them, I would refer him, amongst other passages of the Odyssey, particularly to Λ. 136. &c. Also to the feast of the Thracian Scuthes so beautifully described by Xenophon, Anab. l. vii. c. 3.

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richly caparisoned white charger, taking his morning ride, followed by young men of the first Greek families in his train: but many persons augured no good from this ostentation, knowing the capricious disposition of Ali, as well as that crafty policy of his which led him sometimes to strike down the towering eagle that the smaller birds might be kept in awe: in the mean time Alexi stuck to the old maxim of *living whilst we can*, endeavoured to keep his master in good humour, and sacrificed a part of his fortune to retain the rest. In the list of our other visitors may be distinguished Signore Colovo, the vizir's dragoman; Signore Sakellario, one of his physicians, who possessed a superb collection of coins and antiques, but seemed totally ignorant of the value they might acquire by arrangement, since he kept them all mixed together in a leathern bag, and looked at them as a child does at his playthings; Signore Giovanni Melas; the two primates; Signore Stavro, a merchant of great opulence; and Demetrio Droso, chief secretary of Mouchtar Pasha, whose mother was a branch of the noble Venetian family of Maruzzi: he came accompanied by two beautiful little girls his daughters, the one five and the other six years old, whom we made very happy by a present of some English toys. It is scarcely possible to conceive any thing more lovely than these children: their parents seem extremely fond of them, dressing them in the richest garments, carrying them in processions, and exhibiting them to strangers, though they take good care to immure them from sight as soon as their beauties begin to expand.

February 12.—This afternoon we thought it right to pay our respects to the vizir, and we found him at Litaritza, in his favourite little Albanian room; the only one in which we ever saw him more than once. His prime minister Mahomet Effendi was with him, a silly old man

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who studied astrology and occult sciences till he thought himself gifted with inspiration, and pored for hours together over an old globe, though he knew not whether the earth moves round the sun, or the contrary: it would have been well if he had been content to pronounce oracles upon science and politics; but he was withal a violent bigot, fierce and implacable against heretics or unbelievers, and ready to execute the most horrid commands of his despotic ruler.

The dress of the vizir both now and at other times appeared costly, but never gaudy; his magnificence shone rather in the brilliants that covered the walls of this apartment. He was extremely fond of thus concentrating his wealth into a small compass; probably to guard against the effects of a reverse of fortune: a little before our arrival in his dominions he had purchased six pearls, said to be the largest in Europe, and after our departure he bought a diamond from the ex-King of Sweden at the price of 13,000*l.*, which, with a number of others, he had formed into a star, in imitation of one which he saw upon the coat of Sir Frederic Adam: this he wore upon his breast, and called it "his order."

He was in such good humour this day that he would not suffer us to depart till we had finished a second and a third pipe: he spoke freely upon the reverses of Bonaparte, informed us of the defection of Murat from the French cause, and called for a very fine Turkish map of Europe that we might point out to him the geographical situation of the armies at that time contending about the liberties of the world. He appeared very ignorant, like all the Turks, in geography, not knowing where to look for Malta, or even for Ancona, which it behoved him much to know as an important seaport opposite his own coasts: "Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon."

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Mr. Pouqueville indeed assured me, that Ali once questioned him upon the expediency of sending a ship of war to be coppered and rigged at Paris, and at another time wished the French army a fair wind to carry them to Vienna. Constantinople being a seaport, the Turks presume to think that every other capital city must necessarily be so too. Our conversation turned chiefly upon the great military events at this time pending, and he seemed well aware of the tottering power of the French emperor: he spoke of his own wars as petty actions in comparison with the extensive operations of the great continental armies; though subsequently, when I was better able to converse with him in Romaic, he related some of his adventures with great apparent satisfaction: he asked us how we liked his Albanian room; and upon our expressing approbation of its comfortable appearance, he said, with some degree of vanity, that in this he was his own architect. At our leaving the palace he requested us to call frequently upon him, and as usual made us an unqualified offer of all his possessions.

On the day after this interview we made a shooting excursion with Giovanni Melas, and our two hosts: having received permission to shoot in the upper region of the lake, which, according to the game laws established by Mouchtar Pasha, was preserved for his private amusement, we had excellent sport; and Mr. Parker had the luck to shoot what is called a thalassopuli, or bird of the sea. One or two of these fowls are generally seen in every flock: it is nearly twice the size of a duck, and is decked with a superb tuft of scarlet feathers on its head, whilst its wings are beautifully variegated with purple and white: it is sometimes called the "Pasha's bird," (πουλι του Πασιά): no one presumes to kill it if the

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pasha be present, but each endeavours to procure him a shot by separating it from the rest; and whoever succeeds is sure of being rewarded. We returned to dine upon the island, in a very neat mansion, and were so pleased with our accommodations that we sent for our trunk-beds from the city, and Antonietti to dress the wild-fowl. Next day we made a second excursion upon the water, visiting several monasteries, and the ruins of Gastrizza. In the evening, as we returned to Ioannina by moonlight, I ordered my boat with Signore Nicolo, to row round the precipices of the castron, which beautifully overhang the lake: as we glided gently over the surface, and had just passed a high projecting angle, we heard a sudden plunge, as if some heavy body had fallen into the water. I inquired of Nicolo what this might be, who coolly replied, "he supposed it was some incontinent lady tied up in her sack and thrown over the rock;" for thus it is that the inhabitants of these regions, in the solemn stillness of the night, hear—

> Plunged amid the sullen waves,
> The frequent corpse.*

We returned immediately to the spot, but the water was extremely deep, and the unfortunate victim, if such it was, was then hid from mortal view. We landed on the south side of the fortress, and in passing through the narrow intricate lanes in this part of the city, we observed the

* This punishment for the same crime seems once to have been known in England. See Chaucer's Marchante's Tale, where May says to January,

> And if I do that lakke,
> Do stripen me and put me in a sakke,
> And in the next river do me drench.

Col. Leake, in his Researches (p. 410), adduces some instances to prove that it existed also among the ancient Greeks.

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patrole carrying off a man to prison who had wounded another in a quarrel. My guide assured me that these occurrences were very rare in Ioannina; for the vizir instituted strict police regulations, and acted with great impartiality, as far as regarded the different classes of his subjects, in punishing the disturbers of public tranquillity.

Next morning we went to see a grand review of Albanian troops, which for the last month had been drawn together from all parts into the capital, to the terrible annoyance of the poor inhabitants, upon whom they were quartered. It was suspected that the vizir had some important design in view, upon which conjecture was very busy. The review, if such it can be called, took place in the paddock adjoining the kiosk. The soldiers stood conversing in groups, strolling about, or lying down upon the ground, all except one regiment which contained many Franks, and was about half disciplined: to this a band of heterogeneous music was attached. Mr. Pouqueville once asked Ali how he procured these musicians: his answer was—τοὺς ἔκλεψα· "I stole them:" that is, he induced them by promises and bribery to desert from various regiments in the Ionian islands. No military evolutions took place; but the names of the men were called over, and those who wanted money for accoutrements, or had arrears of pay due to them, or any grievances to complain of, were allowed to make their complaints to the vizir, who sat in a small room with large heaps of money near him, and his secretary by his side. He once endeavoured to discipline more of his troops according to the system of European tactics; but was too prudent to persevere, when he saw how adverse it was to the prejudices of his Albanian palikars, and how it interfered with their customary and almost natural system of warfare. The troops which struck us most in this assemblage were the Miriditi or Mirdites,

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the bravest of all the tribes settled in Albania, and who wear the red shawl, and the vest à la Tancrede. They inhabit the country between Tiranna and Alessio, bordering on the pashalic of Scutari, and can arm 10,000 men against an invading enemy. They are supposed to be descendants of those Latins who fled towards the west after their expulsion from Constantinople by Lascaris, and those whom Roger II. king of Apulia employed in his unfortunate Thessalian expedition. Their language is full of Latin and Italian terms: they profess the Roman Catholic rites, and are governed in religious matters by a bishop, called, in their own language, Knez, and by priests sent from the Society de Propaganda: they are much more intolerant and bigoted than either their Turkish or Albanian neighbours; and very few instances occur of their changing their religion. Their temporal chief is denominated Pringlass: they live in small villages and are very poor, but honest: they acknowledge the nominal authority of the pasha of Scutari, and send him a small annual tribute; but they never admit his troops within their territories. The predecessor of their present chief was teacherously assassinated in the very palace of Scutari: this one never enters the pasha's dominions without an escort of three hundred men, fifty of whom attend him in the audience chamber, with their hands upon the triggers of their muskets, ready to fire upon the first appearance of treason. On another occasion the pasha hung one of their priests, for which they immediately retaliated by catching and gibbeting three Turkish dervishes; as the severest blow they could inflict on him. Ali contrived to gain them over to his interests by distributing presents among their chiefs and priests, and giving double pay to private individuals: he always employed them in his most desperate under-

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takings, and I understand that, without them, he would have found it difficult to have taken Gardiki. We soon returned home from this exhibition to superintend the operations of Antonietti, whom we had left preparing a dinner in the Frank fashion, to which we had invited several of our Greek acquaintance.

Our general style of living in Ioannina varied but little from that which we were accustomed to in our own country. We had coffee to breakfast, and French bread from a baker established here by Mr. Pouqueville, with which we used an excellent substitute for butter, in a species of scalded cream called caimac.* At dinner we generally eat stewed meats, varied with pilau, poultry, hares, partridges both of the common and the red-legged species, snipes, plover, and wild fowl: of these latter we shot an immense quantity, so that we dressed them in every possible manner for our own table, and distributed abundance amongst our friends. Mutton is the best meat in this country: the beef is hard and void of fat: the pork is often extremely good; but I never recollect seeing veal at any table whatever. For vegetables we generally had boiled onions, as the cultivation of the potatoe had not been introduced at Ioannina; but in the spring we procured very fine greens and lettuces: the Greeks are as yet extremely deficient in the art of making cheese, it being very salt and crumbling, without possessing any distinguishing flavour: it is made from the milk of sheep and goats, which is turned by a rennet from the intestines of a lamb: our wine was generally the produce of the islands, which is better than that made on this part of the continent: in the evening we took a cup of coffee, and

* This cream is produced from the milk of sheep and goats, but especially of the former.

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prepared ourselves for repose by the narcotic influence of the most fragrant tobacco. In this system we deviated from the habits of the people among whom we sojourned.

The modern, like the ancient Greek, is abstemious in his mode of living. He rises very early in the morning, the dawn of day being the most delightful part of it in these climates, where all business of the market is generally done long before an Englishman has taken his breakfast. After a pipe and cup of coffee, with which alone the Greek breaks his fast, he saunters about, calls upon his friends, or attends to business till noon, when his principal meal is served up: he generally takes this with his family alone; friends being rarely invited, except on particular festive occasions, as a marriage or a birth-day. The fare consists of boiled rice, sometimes mixed with oil and vinegar, vegetables dressed with oil, an article which enters largely into all their dishes, mutton baked with almonds or pistachio nuts, stewed meats, pilau, olives called columbades, and thin pastry made of eggs, flour and honey: the wine of the country is generally given, and the fruits of the season are served up as a dessert: the dishes are placed separately on the table, and each member of the family helps himself with fork, or spoon, or fingers, out of the same receptacle.* After

* The times of taking food seem to correspond very accurately with those observed by the ancients, viz. the ἄριστον early in the morning, the δεῖπνον in the middle of the day, and the δόρπον in the evening, according to Athenæus (lib. i. c. 10.) who quotes the following fragment of Æschylus in support of the fact.

Σίτον δ' εἰδέναι διώρισα
Ἄριστα, δεῖπνα, δόρπα θ' αἱρεῖσθαι, τρία·

This distribution is confirmed by Julius Pollux (lib. vi. c. 17.) who says the first meal was called ἄριστον, the second δεῖπνον, and the third, which only certain persons and not all took, τὰ δόρπα, δόρπος, or δόρπηστος· among the

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dinner the females retire to the *gynekaios*, and the men indulge in a siesta; in the afternoon visits are made or received, at which sweetmeats, pipes and coffee are presented to the guests. At Ioannina if the weather was fine, parties were made to walk in the environs of the city, to row upon the lake, to visit the island, or the monasteries on its banks; and about sunset they returned to supper, which, for the most part, is a very frugal meal. At some houses cards were introduced, and many French and Italian games were played: this amusement was very common at the mansion of Alexi Noutza, from which our host Nicolo frequently returned with lighter pockets. Those who rise early generally retire early to rest; and this is the case with the Greeks, who rarely keep late hours.

We were now in the latter end of the carnival, when the severity of Ali's police laws was a little relaxed, and the inhabitants were allowed to parade the streets at all

modern Greeks also many abstain from this meal. The gourmands of ancient times appear to have eat four times a day, since Philemon quoted by Athenæus (in loc. cit.) speaks of the ἀκράτισμα, ἄριστον, ἐσπέρισμα, and δεῖπνον. In the heroic ages two meals seem to have sufficed, the first called ἀκράτισμα or ἄριστον (for Plutarch, Symp. l. viii. Q. vi. thinks the terms synonymous, arguing from Eumæus in the Odyssey preparing the ἄριστον at the dawn of day) and the δεῖπνον, taken after the business of the day was over, Ἥμος δὲ δρυτόμος περ ἀνὴρ ὀπλίσσατο δεῖπνον. Civilization, with its consequent luxury, introduced three general meals; but the nebulones or bon-vivants indulged in four, while some abstemious venerators of antiquity adhered to two. I cannot agree with the opinion of those who think that at any time the ancients made only one meal, except a few eccentric characters, called μονοσιτοῦντες, whom we find ridiculed on this very account by the satiric poets (vid. frag. Alexid. apud Athenæum, l. ii. c. 8.) Those of the ancients, who ate thrice a day, seem, like the moderns, to have made but one hearty meal, the first and second being slight repasts, just sufficient to prevent uneasy sensations, since we find Plato severely reprehending the Syracusans, who dined and supped freely on the same day, and Cicero inveighs against the Romans, who encouraged a similar practice.

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hours of the night, singing to their guitars, after having sacrificed to Bacchus. As the upper ranks indulged now and then in masquerading during this season, we entered into the spirit of the custom, and arrayed ourselves in assumed characters, Nicolo as an English officer, Mr. Parker as a Turk, and myself as an old Greek lady, decked out in the rich velvet clothes of our venerable hostess. My two companions were frequently discovered, but my own disguise was so complete that we nearly made the whole circuit of our visits before I was unmasked; and this occurred in the last house we entered, belonging to a sister-in-law of Nicolo: here I was at first permitted freely to sit amongst a large party of females, until a fine young girl, named Alessandra, eyeing me attentively, cried out, εἶναι ἄνθρωπος, "it is a man," and the whole party scampered off as if they had been stung by a gad-fly, hiding themselves in every nook and corner of the house.

The same evening, after changing our dress, we witnessed a very extraordinary marriage procession from the window of another of Nicolo's relatives: it was the deportation of one of Ali's own concubines from his harem to the house of an officer to whom he had given her in marriage. One would have thought it impossible that a victim who had just escaped from the bars of such a prison, in which sensuality reigned without love, luxury without taste, and slavery without remission, could have complied so far with custom as to walk, in the first ecstasies of liberty, with a motion not much quicker than the minute hand of a town-clock: she was attended by no persons of her own sex, but her train-bearer and supporters were Albanian soldiers, friends of her future spouse: from the great number of torches carried in procession, we were enabled to get a perfect view of her

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face, which was by no means handsome: her figure was lusty, but this among the Turks is considered more beautiful than the proportions of the Medicean Venus. She was superbly attired, but we were informed that the pearls and brilliants which adorned her head and neck were only lent for the occasion, and would be returned next day to the seraglio. The dress she wore, and two other suits, which, together with the furniture of the bridal bed, were carried after her by the Albanian guards, was all the dowry she received from her former master.

It was not by any means an unusual thing with Ali thus to dispose of the females of his numerous harem; he gave them to his Turkish Greek and Albanian retainers; but most willingly to Franks who entered into his service, as means of detaining them in his dominions. At Tepeleni we saw two Italian gardeners who had been thus generously provided with consorts: but, as I have before observed, he was free from many Turkish prejudices, and very ready to dispense with any forms, civil or religious, for the promotion of his own interest: perhaps some of my readers may not give him much credit for liberality in this case, when they are informed that he possessed about 600 female victims, guarded by eunuchs, and immured within the impenetrable recesses of his harem; though it may be supposed that most of these were retained merely to augment his dignity,* and to wait

* Thus it seems to have been in ancient times, to instance only Agamemnon, on whose harem, mentioned in the following lines of Homer,

Πλεῖαί τοι χαλκοῦ κλισίαι πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
Εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξαίρετοι, ἄς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
Πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν·

Aristotle makes the following remarks: Ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκὸς εἰς χρῆσιν εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς γέρας. Athenæi, lib. xii. p. 556.

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upon his favourites. Before age had chilled his blood his sensuality was unbounded: wherever his satellites heard of a beautiful child, of either sex, they dragged it from the paternal roof, and massacred the family or burned the village if any resistance was offered. One of his most beautiful females was torn from the hymeneal altar whilst she was pledging her vows to a fine young man, son of the primate of Vonizza, who, unable to bear the loss, or to avenge it, blew out his own brains with his pistol. Such disgusting scenes are reported to have been acted within his harem, and especially that of his son Mouchtar, as are little fit for description in these pages: even the Turks themselves were accustomed to speak of them with astonishment and abhorrence. His favourite was a young Greek slave, named Vasilikeé, born at Paramithia and brought up in the serai from a child: she was said to have been extremely beautiful, and bore an excellent character for charity; whilst her kind disposition was frequently shown in mitigating the severities of her lordly lover towards his subjects. Wherever he went this favourite constantly attended him; she retained his affections longer than any other woman; and in 1816 he married her with great pomp and ceremony, permitting her to retain her own religious rites and doctrines. At Tepeleni also there was an establishment of women, over which the mother of Salee Bey, a Circassian slave, and formerly a favourite mistress of the vizir, presided.

Ali's infamous excesses brought him to a dreadful state of suffering, in which he often sought relief by application to the best Frank physicians, as well as by those arts of quackery with which his own subjects contrived to cheat him. In 1809 he was at his particular request supplied by Sir A. Ball with a skilful surgeon from Malta; and that gentleman, in a very in-

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teresting narrative, thus alludes to a communication which the Vizir made to him on the subject of his disordered constitution.* "It would ill become my professional character, were I to particularize what passed during this and subsequent visits, to harrow up my best feelings, and to kindle in my breast mingled emotions of horror, indignation, and surprise! of surprise, that one bearing on his proud front the stamp and image of his maker, and intellectually gifted in no ordinary degree, should have degraded himself beneath the level of the vilest reptiles whose gross instinctive propensities engage physiological inquiry, and have afforded an example of the passions which reason ought to have controlled, unblushingly directed to objects repugnant in their nature! I speak not of the garden scene—of the modern Antinous, environed by his ever-watchful guardians—neither is it my wish, lovely Vasilikeé! to dwell on thy cruel lot, doomed like Tantalus to the most mortifying endurancess. Though still of tender age thou wert for six tedious years the degraded but not the subdued victim of this satyr in human shape! But if, as well as the more prominent and energetic traits, those of the privacy of exalted characters belong to posterity, either as a lesson or a guide, then ought it to be recorded—that in the gratification of his depraved appetites, Ali Pasha, of all known modern sensualists the most sensual, exceeded whatever the most *impure imagination can conceive*, whether it may have drawn its sullied stores from scenes of high-varnished debauchery, or from the obscurely tinted perspective of the low haunts of infamy and vice."† This gentleman also

* This is extracted from an interesting article in Blackwood's Magazine for May 1823.

† The reader will recollect that these reflections are drawn out by facts which Ali Pasha himself in secret colloquy communicated to the Author. I have inserted them in these pages, to show what kind of personages politics,

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declares, and I am not inclined to doubt his veracity, that he afterwards met Ali's agent, Signore Colovo, in Malta, who earnestly applied to him for a tasteless and colourless poison of which his master had need, and in search of which he had sent him to Sicily: doubtless he had heard of the re-discovery made in that island of the celebrated Aqua Tofana, which had the properties above alluded to. Colovo, however, having failed in procuring it, and loth to return home without executing his commission, made his shameless application to a British officer, and received the answer which one would expect on such an occasion.

Ali's court was supported with a degree of splendor and expense far exceeding those of many princes in the Germanic confederacy. I was informed that provisions were cooked in his palaces at Ioannina for near 1500 persons daily, amongst whom were found visiters and retainers from all parts of the globe, attracted thither by his fame, and whose services he seldom refused. At the time of our residence he had for a guest one of the khans or princes of Persia.

His three principal secretaries of state were at this time old Mahomet Effendi the astrologer, chief of the divan, who had the general management of affairs in his master's absence; Sechrì Effendi, a most violent Mahometan bigot, who generally accompanied him in his excursions and executed his most important commissions; Dwann Effendi, who carried on his correspondence with the Porte, for which purpose a capi-kehagia or procurator was appointed

like poverty, connect with honest nations; and because I have heard many professing Christians and men of high character defend such associations. Surely the petty advantages of political confederacy are more than counterbalanced by such moral contamination and that loss of respect amongst mankind which must ensue!

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at Constantinople. Besides these he had four under-secretaries, all Greeks, whose business it was to correspond with the beys, agàs, and governors in the different Albanian provinces; the two first of these named Mantho and Costa were men of the most crafty and subtile disposition, the ready instruments of all the pasha's schemes of vengeance and of tyranny.*

His two dragomen, or interpreters, were also Greeks; the first Signore Colovo, and the second Beyzady, the son of a prince of the Fanar.

He had four regular physicians, who served him also in the capacity of secretaries and interpreters, as occasion might demand: for every person attached to Ali's service was required to walk out of his own particular course.

Besides all these, there were many sage counsellors who took their places at his divan, though not dignified by any peculiar office: in these he placed implicit confidence, for they were all tried men. The principal of them were Mezzo Bonno, Dervish Hassan, Agho Mordari, and Athanasi Vayà, his favourite and most successful general, who might indeed have been styled commander in chief. This person was intrusted with his master's most intimate secrets, and had free access to him in the hours of his most perfect retirement.

In addition to the above-mentioned officers employed in affairs of council he had a multitude who attended to ceremony; among whom were the Selictar-Agà, or sword-bearer, the Bairactar Agà, or standard-bearer, the Capsilar-Agà, or master of the ceremonies.

One of his most important officers and chief favourites

* Vely Pasha after his reconciliation with his father so abhorred these men that he requested as a favour that his correspondence with the vizir might not be carried on through their agency. Mantho was his agent in the affair of Parga.

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was Tahir Abbas the Capi-Baloukbashee or head of the Police. This man, the ready instrument of his infamous pleasures and horrid cruelties, was the chief person who ultimately betrayed him to the vengeance of his enemies.

There were also about twenty Chaoushes, and the same number of Kaivasis, who carried silver-knobbed sticks before the vizir in procession, and were the porters or keepers of his door; but in addition to his proper officers, his court was crowded with a multitude of dependants, skilled in every art of adulation and mean compliance. Some of these turned him to good account by working upon his superstition. At this very time a Persian dervish named Sheik Ali had persuaded him that he was able to make a panacea which should render him immortal: he had been working long in the serai with crucibles and alembics, and continued to receive money for his pretended preparations, until death arrested his progress, though it did not open Ali's eyes to his artifices; for in 1817 the vizir ordered a fine mausoleum to be erected over the tomb of this impostor, and spent a considerable part of each day among the workmen, until it was finished; he then suspended a massive lamp of silver from the centre of the dome, and liberally endowed it for a set of Dervishes to watch by turns over the remains of the *saint*. After the death of Sheik Ali he was for some time the dupe of a Greek of Salonica named Serio whose tricks had nearly created a rebellion and hurled him from his throne. This wretch pretended that he could secure the continuance of life for any duration by a composition, which, among many detestable ingredients, contained a large quantity of human blood, and human hair—the first of these articles was easily procured by bleeding the Ganymedes of the Serai; but to cut their hair would have been a disfigurement that would have unfitted them for their

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station—besides, as an immense quantity was required, Ali bethought him of an easier method, which was to shave the poles of his Albanian troops, who, like the Abantes of antiquity, allow their long locks to flow down their backs, and cut them only in front. This idea however produced such a ferment among the palikars, who thought it was but the commencement of a new system of things, that had it not speedily been counteracted, a scene similar to what occurred among our Indian seapoys would probably have been exhibited. Soon after, as Serio was walking past one of Ali's suburban residences, he was beckoned by the vizir to enter, when he found his own patron Signore Colovo tracing out some large characters on a paper: to this the vizir, after having entered into a close and friendly conversation respecting the Philospher's stone, which the impostor was pretending to prepare, affixed his signet, and gave it to one of the chiefs of his police, who accompanied the alchymist on his way home; they had not however proceeded far before the terrified Greek saw a gibbet in his path, and turning round, observed a detachment of the baloukbashee's guards near at hand: the paper, which his companion carried, was then shown to him, and found to be his sentence of suspension, with an exposition of his frauds, which was to be nailed to his forehead when he was hoisted up; this was done accordingly and Serio left to feed the crows.

The retinue of Mouchtar Pasha was very large, though inconsiderable when compared with that of his father. He supported two hundred officers and others of his household, and a thousand troops or Albanian guards. His annual income was estimated at about 350,000 dollars, though the vizir took to himself the greatest part of his revenue from the pashalic of Berat.

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CHAPTER IV.

It may perhaps be expected that I should say something of the literary society of Ioannina: but to confess the truth, I saw very little to describe; and if this city was called by some writers the Athens of modern Greece, the term seems to me no bad specimen of the figure of speech called amplification.

Literature throughout Greece is but now beginning to awake from that lethargy in which she has lain for so many centuries: at present her motion is feeble and weak, and she creeps on with torpid languor instead of soaring aloft, as formerly, in eagle flight. The minds of the people have been too long debased with sordid cares, and fettered too heavily with the manacles of despotic power, for sublime aspirations at present; they no longer possess that creative fire of genius, that untrodden soul (the Ψυχὴν ἄβατον) which characterized their great progenitors. In their writings we observe at present only feeble copies of the ancients, or vain attempts at originality, wherein true taste and simplicity is violated. Elaborate truisms, superficial remarks, metaphysical absurdities, inaccurate details, deform the pages of their historians, politicians and philo-

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sophers, whose writings give but little colour to policy, consistency to facts, or propriety to character; whilst the fire and spirit, the *igneus vigor et cælestis origo*, of antiquity, is absent from the conceptions and expressions of their poets.

Yet is not this said for the purpose of censure so much as of commiseration. In estimating the literary character of a people, we must take into consideration the circumstances which surround them. Nothing is great but by comparison, and if we perceive the modern Greeks deficient in that powerful talent, that extent of information, that accuracy of criticism, that eloquence and discriminating judgment which distinguish some capitals of civilized Europe, we must reflect also upon their misfortunes and debasement, we must remember that security is necessary for speculative abstraction, that the principles of truth are essential to eloquence, that independence of character is the nurse of Science, and that Poesy extends her impetuous flight only upon the wings of Liberty. But in these unfortunate realms, where tyranny had so long been established, suspicion, like the sword of Damocles, uniformly banished joy from the hearts of the people; self-interest, and the acquisition of wealth, were their ruling passions; superstition long lent its assistance in blunting all the energies of mind; few were the aids which education gave to talent; few were the rewards proposed to emulation.

Still it would be wrong to say that the germ of genius no longer exists among the Greeks, while the substratum of their character seems to remain very similar to that of their ancestors. We may remark in the moderns the same perspicacity and pliability which distinguished the ancients, the same ingenuity in supplanting a rival, the same appetency for honours and distinctions however dangerous,

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the same desire of pomp and magnificence, the same liveliness and gaiety of heart when relieved from the presence of tyranny: the chief difference seems effected by external circumstances; the ancients were masters, but the moderns slaves; those moved in conscious dignity over a land immortalized by their valour, these have been obliged to bow the neck beneath the foot of every petty tyrant. In such an atmosphere it was impossible for genius to bloom; yet when her scions were transplanted into a more genial climate they were vigorous and full of sap;* and while such noble-minded men as the Zosimades pour the stream of bounty over their native land, planting the seed, though the time of harvest may be distant, and whilst such patriotic souls as that of the venerable Korai exert their energies to infuse purity into the language, good taste into the writings, and generosity into the sentiments of their countrymen, we need not despair. Knowledge is increasing and will increase; true patriotism will spread through all ranks; and when Greece shall escape from bondage intellectual as well as corporeal, its genius will revive; the Memnonian statue, now mute, when struck by the rays of Liberty will again utter its harmonious sounds.

Perhaps there is no part of Greece where its language has been preserved in greater purity than the mountainous districts of Epirus, or where more efforts were made to restore it than in Ioannina. It was there much less mixed with Oriental barbarisms, or exotic Frank and Italian terms. Though the Romaic, in its idioms, terminations and phraseology, has never departed so far as the Italian has, from its mother tongue, it may be doubted whether this be an advantage, or the contrary.

* The transcendant abilities of Ugo Foscolo, a Grecian born, but educated in Italy, may be cited as an illustration of this truth.

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The latter language, after a succession of foreign intermixtures and a variety of changes, was regenerated, as it were, in the sudden regeneration of the people, and assumed at once a noble consistency, copious expression, and delightful harmony: but the former has remained, and must ever remain, a debased enervated dialect of the most glorious language ever yet formed by the ingenuity of mankind; eclipsed for ever by the brightness of its original. Still the efforts made to repair its defects and eradicate its barbarisms are extremely praiseworthy, especially since every good composition we can expect from the modern Greeks must be written in Romaic: if they attempt the Hellenic they will surely fail: no language can well express the genuine dictates of the heart in the eloquence of genius, but that to which we have been accustomed from our infancy, that in which we have listened to the accents of maternal tenderness, the admonitions of paternal care, the sentiments of friendship, or the soft whispers of a still sweeter affection.

The style of conversation amongst a people is generally found to be a good criterion of their literature; and as I have before observed, that of Ioannina, though superior to what is met with in the rest of Greece, was not much distinguished for brilliancy and flow of soul. We certainly met with many persons who had improved their manners by an inspection of foreign countries, as well as their faculties by the acquisition of modern languages and some few other accomplishments; but we neither saw nor heard of any that were noted for attainments beyond mediocrity: we found some who had gained a smattering of philosophy, falsely so called; and who had paid very dear for it by acquiring a scepticism on more serious subjects. Upon the whole therefore, the chief interest in the society of Ioannina was derived from novelty, and when

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this wore off, nothing succeeded to relieve its monotony, agitate the stagnant ideas, and occupy the faculties of a reflective being; no musical or theatrical exhibitions, no exhibitions of the fine arts, no political discussion, no courts of law, not even a new book or a pamphlet; for neither a printing press nor a bookseller's shop was to be found in this capital.*

For the sake of variety we sometimes paid visits of ceremony to some of the Turkish beys and agàs, by whom we were invariably received with urbanity and politeness. We generally found the master of the house seated, according to custom, at the corner of his divan, dressed in that rich oriental garb, whose graceful folds confine, without disfiguring the limbs: pipes and coffee, sherbet and sweetmeats, were always introduced as a matter of course, and the conversation, though it might not be enlivened by that play of fancy in which its great charm consists, was frequently rendered interesting by the sensible and acute observations of our dignified hosts.

The Turk, though he applies his mind neither to philosophy nor science, is well versed in the knowledge of the human heart; inasmuch as he studies men much more than books; and he frequently displays a perspicacity of intellect, which, with due cultivation, might enable him to shine a distinguished ornament of society. The most insuperable obstacle to his progress in refinement is the system of his religious faith: this is so identified with his political institutions, as to fix an indelible stamp upon all his habits, manners, and customs, which accordingly are found at the present day to vary very little, if at all, from the accounts transmitted to us by Besbequius and other

* Books however might sometimes be procured at the shops of different trades: for instance, I myself purchased a Romaic translation of the Persian Tales at the window of a tobacconist.

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early writers. Still it is true that scepticism has of late made inroads among the disciples of Mahomet: how indeed could it be otherwise? Any religion that is propagated by force and received as the means of lightening oppression, must necessarily degenerate: nor can it be expected that the descendants of those Tartarian hordes who transferred the sceptre of the Caliphate to the shores of Bosporus, and whose number is almost daily augmented by the victims of theocratic sway, should preserve untainted the comparatively pure principles of the Ishmaelitish founders. But to pass over that species of sceptics, who, like profligates in all communities, let their faith wait upon their desires, it is said that many respectable men, whose minds have been enlightened by foreign intercourse, begin to doubt the truth of those doctrines which keep the intellect stagnant while the current of knowledge flows by: a few also, in their reflective moods, bring into review the principles of a faith, which, among many absurdities, still inculcates the spirituality and benevolence of God as well as the immortality of the soul: hence suspicions naturally arise in their minds regarding the truth of a creed which promises a sensual paradise in a future state to those who by a course of virtue have endeavoured to spiritualise and sublimate their nature in this; and they gain by degrees some conviction of the superiority of the rational and moral powers; some thirsting after a purer happiness; some conceptions of man's ultimate destiny. It is a great misfortune that Islamism in this state should be in contact with the Greek church only; a church which disguises the real worth and dignity of Christianity under a mass of inane ceremonies and disgusting superstitions, opposing to the sublime principles of Mahometanism, its Panaghias, St. Nicolos, "et hoc genus omne;" a church *tam ficti pravique tenax quam*

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nuntia veri. This consideration must have great weight with the Christian philanthropist, when he desires to see the blessings of liberty restored to this interesting country, viz. that moral and religious reform may follow in its train.

Feb. 19.—This morning we received a letter, dated Prevesa, from Mr. Foresti, who had left Ioannina for that place several days before; and we were highly gratified by the intelligence of our army having passed the Pyrenees and entered France. This departure of the English envoy, the great accumulation of troops in the capital, the employment of a large body of Miridites, together with several obscure hints from Mr. Pouqueville, all announced that some important action was near at hand, and various rumours were afloat upon the subject.

After breakfast I made an excursion upon the lake with Signore Nicolo, and in returning shot a fine eagle just as he was about to pounce upon a duck: poor Antonietti in attempting to take him up received bloody marks of his talons; but he was secured by one of the boatmen. On landing we were met by a priest with a long black beard, and a box, into which he requested us to put alms for the Panaghia. I begged Signore Nicolo to repeat to him the reply of Antisthenes upon a similar occasion: *Οὐ τρέφω τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ἣν οἱ θεοὶ τρέφουσιν·* "For which," replied the papas in his zealous indignation, "he is undoubtedly damned;" appealing to my companion for a confirmation of his assertion: Nicolo however, who was rather sceptical on these points, chose to leave the matter in doubt with the interrogative answer, "who can tell?" (*ποῖος εἶδεν;*)

In the afternoon we went to hear vespers at the Metropolis, adjoining to which was the palace of the archbishop; the edifice itself was neither large nor handsome; all that

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can be said of the chaunting is, that it was not disagreeable, though, like the Greek singing in general, it was much indebted to the nasal organs of the performers: the women were all separated from the men in a gallery appropriated to them at the west end of the church, the thick lattice-work of which hides all particular observation from the male congregation below. From hence we adjourned to a church dedicated to Santa Marina, which was founded by the father of our host, old Anastasi Bretto: this was the handsomest place of Christian worship that we saw in Turkey, as profusely adorned with gilding as the second rate churches of Spain and Portugal. The singing was just concluded; but a deacon observing our entrance, came up with a large silver plate, upon which lay a wax taper and two pictures of the patron saint: we deposited thereon two dollars, and received in return each a picture; probably the offerings were not thought considerable enough to deserve the taper.

At night I went to the public bath, while Mr. Parker, who had long been disgusted with its filthy appearance, adjourned to one which was annexed to the vizir's palace: but the state of his clothes when he returned home proved that in this country no rank is a protection against the intrusion of certain animalculæ that carry on a constant war against the race of men. This being the last day of carnival we were kept awake great part of the night by drunken parties of Greeks and Albanians, eagerly seizing that shadow of gaiety to which the real austerities of superstition were so soon about to succeed: the night was rainy, yet even this could not damp the ardour with which Bacchus had inspired them.

We were this time particularly unfortunate; for at the very dawn of day, when the Bacchanals had retired and we were just beginning to enjoy the comfort of repose,

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the loud and piercing shrieks of female distress, prompting the idea that nothing less than murder was going forward under the roof, impelled us simultaneously from our beds: but before we had advanced so far as the outer gallery, whence the noise proceeded, Antonietti met and informed us that all this outcry arose from our old hostess, Nicolo's mother, to whom his highness the vizir had that morning sent a present of ten kiloes of wheat. He had scarcely finished his speech before the old lady herself ran up howling and crossing herself, entreating us to have compassion on her and interfere in her behalf with the pasha. We were at first quite astonished how all this affliction could be caused by so handsome a gift; and were inclined to reproach her with madness or ingratitude, until the bystanders informed us that this *present* must be paid for at double the market price, and that the messenger was then in the house waiting for the money: upon this the old lady began to renew her lamentations, which we stopped by assisting her to pay for the wheat, instead of annoying the vizir in what he might have thought an impertinent application: we found also that the calamity was common to all the citizens, each of whom had received a present according to his reputed means, or the esteem in which he was held by his sovereign. The great extent of this avania tended still more to strengthen our conjectures that some important blow was about to be struck; for Ali never engaged in an expedition or levied any troops without contriving some such method for the ways and means. Sometimes he adopted similar measures merely to increase the contents of his treasury: once however he had nearly gone too far even for the most obdurate patience and well-practised slavery to bear. This occurred in 1812, when he took advantage of a deficient harvest to establish

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a monopoly of corn, prohibiting at the same time its importation from the fertile plains of Thessaly, whence Epirus is in some measure supplied. On the 23d of June the poor people were reduced to such an extremity that they assembled in vast crowds around the serai of Litaritza, unawed by the presence of the tyrant, and with clamorous importunity demanded bread or death. One of the Albanian guards, of the tribe of Dgeges, fired his pistol amongst the multitude, and the rest were on the point of following his example; but Ali foresaw the consequences, and was alarmed; he ordered them to forbear, hung up the offender instantly in sight of the people, and told them that if they would disperse they should be satisfied. They did so, and he sent two thousand horse-loads of wheat immediately to be sold at a very low price, lowered his demand for the contents of his store-houses, and opened the communication with Thessaly. About a fortnight after this affair, determining not to be a loser by his humanity, he laid a heavy contribution upon the principal Turks of Ioannina who derived any salary or emolument from his government. His own son, Mouchtar, was made to pay one hundred and fifty purses; Gelalim Bey, and Mahomet Bey of Kastoria, two very rich men, disbursed twenty each; old Mahomet and Sechri Effendi fifteen; Agho Mordari, Mezzo Bono, and Dervish Hassan were amerced in twelve, and others in due proportion.

For these contributions, vexatious as they appear, he may have had some plea of financial improvement; but the tricks to which he sometimes descended for the purpose of amassing money, were so mean and absurd as to be quite unworthy of one who assumed the character of a sovereign. For instance, he wished to borrow a large loan from his subjects; he ordered them to pay

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it in gold, and he returned it in silver; not according to the value of this metal at Ioannina, but at Constantinople, where it bears a much less ratio to that of gold.

He once purchased at a very reduced price a cargo of coffee, which had been spoiled by the entrance of the sea water into an English brig. He then sent for some coffee-dealers and Jews of Ioannina, and thus opened the conference with the principal tradesman:

"At what price now is coffee, Murrie?"*

"Please your highness, we purchase it at Malta for three piastres the pound, but the freight and duties oblige us to sell it again for four and a half."

"Well, Murrie, I have some excellent coffee which I will sell you at five piastres, by which you will avoid all trouble and risk."

"Please your highness, we have a great quantity at this time on hand, and it is quite a drug in the market."

"Haithe haithe, keratádes—"get out, you horned rascals," you shall purchase it for *six*."

It is almost needless to add that the coffee was sent and the money paid. On a similar occasion he sold a large stock of sword blades which he had purchased from a villain who, being unable to sell them on account of the badness of their manufacture, went to the vizir and offered them to him at half price. In like manner he bought a large assortment of watches *made to sell*, as well as snuff-boxes, rings, and toys, from a travelling Geneva merchant: he then sent for the Archbishop of Ioannina—"Here is a watch for you, very beautiful and very excellent: I expect that to-morrow you will make

* The expression is one which he constantly used to almost all that approached him: it is one, not quite of contempt, but of a familiarity that borders on it, and is only used by a superior to his inferior in rank: it is derived from the vocative of the Greek word μωρός.

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me a present of sixty sequins." The two primates next received each a gratuitous snuff-box; and almost every Greek possessed of wealth and reputation in the place, was gratified by his sovereign's gracious condescension and a present, with which, after receiving it in silence, he touched his forehead and lips, in token of respect, and departed.

These however were only a few trifling modes of tyranny with which this accomplished extortioner amused himself. His grand and truly oppressive system was that of the chiflick: which will best be understood if I explain the tenure under which land in Albania was held. All the villages then were either free villas or chiflicks. The free villa was divided into certain portions according to the number of proprietors, and a tenth of the whole produce was due to the sultan for the maintenance of the spahis, a species of military force somewhat resembling our yeomanry cavalry, except that they are liable to serve in foreign warfare either personally or by deputy. The vizir, in quality of collector, generally doubled this impost, though he sent but a small part of it to Constantinople: he appointed a baloukbashee, with a party of soldiers, to govern the village and receive the taxes, who were paid by the poor inhabitants: these latter also were subject to the expenses of lodging and boarding all officers civil or military, all soldiers upon their march, and all travellers, whether natives or foreigners, who were furnished with a bouyourdee: neither was any transfer of land allowed to take place without the vizir's permission.

Can an Englishman credit it? These poor people, when allowed to possess their property on this tenure, considered themselves under the peculiar favour of Heaven! But the insatiable avarice of their despot urged him daily

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to strip them even of these scanty privileges. Ali's aim was to become the greatest landed proprietor in his dominions, and I think I shall not err if I assert that he possessed one third of the whole cultivated territory: he was little aware how much more rapidly his treasures would have increased, by the encouragement of arts, agriculture, and commerce, and by the promotion of happiness among his subjects. To gain possession of a villa he generally contrived to purchase the portion of some indigent proprietor, which was not very difficult, on account of his severe ordinance respecting the sale of estates; then, when the porcupine was once settled in the nest, the snakes might hiss, but they could not dislodge him. If this plan did not succeed, and he was unable to make any purchase, he sent Albanian troops in succession through the district, with orders that they should make a long sojourn among the unfortunate inhabitants of the villa, which was the object of his cupidity. It may easily be conceived, in such a case, how the injuries of a savage undisciplined soldiery were connived at and encouraged, rather than restrained or punished. Indeed the accumulated miseries to which the wretched victims were thus exposed could scarcely fail of its proposed effect: they threw up all their land into the hands of their tyrant, remaining upon it as tenants at will, to receive a certain portion of the produce in return for labour and other expenses of cultivation. The free villa then lost its ancient rights and became a chiflick, the condition of which was this: the vizir first took one tenth of the produce, to which he would have been entitled had it been a free villa: the remainder was divided into three portions, of which he received two; and, if he had furnished the seed and stock, he also took half the remaining third. Some of these chiflicks were let annually to Greeks, Turks, or

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Albanians, the vizir keeping a large book in which the names and prices were regularly enrolled. Our kaivasi Mustafà had hired a small one for the next year, at the rate of eight hundred dollars: but Ali having transferred it before our departure to Mouchtar Pasha, poor Mustafà lost an excellent bargain. The purchaser generally resided upon the spot, was dignified by the title of Shubashee, and had the command of the village under the vizir. At his own chiflicks he either kept the corn in large granaries till the price rose, or if that was not the case, he set an arbitrary value on it and forced his subjects to become purchasers. The greatest evil which the inhabitants endured was their frequent transportation, like herds of cattle, to different parts of the country, according to the caprice or supposed interest of their master. The pictures of these clans, leaving the mansions of their ancestors and those spots which have become endeared to them by the earliest associations, are described as having been sometimes very affecting.

In considering these details one is naturally led to ask why did not his subjects quit for ever such an inhospitable country, and emigrate to happier climes? Alas! this was impossible. Not to mention that affection for the natal soil which binds down the will in spite of all the inclemency of nature and the injustice of a tyrant, surer measures of prevention were adopted in Albania. The whole country was one vast prison: no man could leave it, for the shortest time, without a special licence from his gaoler; whilst the frontiers and passes were all diligently guarded: if a wretch had escaped these barriers, his property would have been forfeited, and his relatives cast into prison, to be made answerable for his return. We might blush for the patience of mankind, did we not know how easily a nation is kept down by the well-paid

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satellites of a military despot: but what must be the indignation of every virtuous heart, when informed that the government of Ali Pasha was happiness itself in comparison with that of the Morea, and other parts of Turkey, where every petty Mussulman might lord it over the miserable inhabitants, depriving them of property, and even of life, without fear of retribution.

February 20th.—This afternoon, as I was taking a walk round the city with Giovanni Argyri, we observed a funeral procession moving from a Greek house of respectable appearance: the corpse was richly decked, and had a crucifix placed upon its breast, its face being uncovered as it lay upon the bier: this was preceded by the relations, priests, and deacons, and surrounded by hired female mourners who acted all the motions of distracted grief and made the air resound with disgusting lamentations, crying out, "Why did you die? why did you leave your wife and family and all your possessions? who shall now bring you coffee and tobacco from the Bazar?" with many more queries to the same effect. A considerable crowd joined the procession, which we accompanied to the church of Panaghia, where the bier was set down: the service for the dead was then read over the body, which, after its mouth and forehead had been kissed by the relations, was wrapped up in a winding sheet and rolled into the grave. After this ceremony, the party, as I understood from my guide, would return and feast at the house of the deceased, where his friends would also meet again on the ninth day after the funeral to make merry, whilst the women would renew their doleful cries and lamentations in concert with the widow. On that day a mess of boiled wheat, mixed up with almonds and raisins, is sent to the church, where prayers are put up for the soul of the departed: the same ceremony is observed also on the

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fifteenth day, on the twenty-first, and the fortieth: then a repetition only takes place at the end of three, six, nine, and twelve months; and lastly at the expiration of three years: then the bones of the corpse are disinterred, washed carefully with wine, and, being tied up in a bag, deposited in the church for three days before they are placed in the common cemetery; at which time a solemn mass is performed, and a number of wax tapers are distributed among the by-standers: an entertainment also is given by the relations in proportion to their circumstances.

Observing an extraordinary number of graves in this cemetery, whereas the church was very small, I inquired the reason from Giovanni, and learned that it was the favourite place of burial with the principal families of Ioannina: it was the fashion with them to deposit the remains of their friends, out of sight, lest the mournful recollection of their loss should have obtruded itself on their minds when they went to divine worship at their own churches. The greatest part of these graves were decorated with a small stone or marble monument, in appearance like a square pilaster, surmounted by a cross; it was hollow within, having a little wooden door attached, and containing a lamp which was lighted on certain festivals, as well as on the anniversary of the deceased's birth and death: this service was undertaken by a priest paid by the family.

Feb. 21.—Early this morning Antonietti came into our room, to say that all the military of Ioannina was in motion, and that the vizir had just left the capital in his old German coach, escorted by a body guard of 500 palikars, whilst the hen-coops were preparing for the ladies of his harem to follow him; these however we were exhorted to avoid if we should observe them in our path, as their Albanian

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guards were in the habit not only of beating, but of cleaving with their ataghans any unfortunate person of the male sex who might be unable to get out of the way, and whose only chance of escape was to fall flat with his face upon the ground: as the unwieldy vehicles moved along, the attending eunuchs were accustomed to cry out *harem! harem!* but a stranger not understanding the meaning of this cry might have incurred great danger. I immediately arose, and as soon as I was dressed, walked out into the environs of the city, where I beheld immense multitudes of Albanian troops spreading themselves over the plain, or ascending the hills, and rushing, like ravenous wolves in search of prey, towards their place of rendezvous. Nothing could be more wildly picturesque than the appearance they made in their white fleecy capotes and national costume, strutting in a kind of martial pride, as though they disdained to touch the earth. Few circumstances could have imparted greater joy to the people of Ioannina than this departure of the military, for whom they had been so long constrained to find quarters, to the utter destruction of domestic comfort: the relief now experienced was like the removal of an incubus. Luckily it happened to be the cold season, or destructive fevers might have been the fatal consequence of this military occupation of the capital.

We dined this day with the French Consul, and from him learned what we before suspected, that the march of Ali's troops was directed towards Parga. That heroic little republic had to this time withstood all attempts of the tyrant to subdue it: he had tried every means, and had recourse to every art which he had hitherto employed with so much success; but the Parghiotes defied his threats, despised his arms, and rejected his bribes: with them a generous patriotism triumphed over every mean

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and selfish consideration, supported them in calamity, animated them with hope, and burned like the vestal's fire perpetually in their breasts. Every other inch of ground in Epirus was under the dominion of Ali: he had subdued and concentrated the various realms of Pashas, Agàs, or free republics, and was indignant that this little rock should defy his efforts and preserve its independence; that the flame of liberty should burn upon this last altar in poor enslaved Greece, like a beacon to excite her sons to shake off the yoke of tyranny.

Impressed with these ideas and accurately informed as to the state of continental affairs, he had been for some time engaged in assiduous endeavours to persuade Mr. Pouqueville and General Denzelot the governor of Corfu, to cede this fortress to him for a valuable consideration. but in this negociation he was cruelly disappointed: Those honourable men, though they well knew the preponderance of British arms, and that Parga must eventually be lost, steadily refused under any conditions to deliver up 5000 Christians to their sanguinary and atrocious enemy, or to sacrifice the lives and fortunes of those whom they had once taken under their protection, and upon whose citadel they had hoisted the standard of France. Who can reflect without shame that the British flag, which succeeded it, proved the winding-sheet of Parghiot independence?

Our conversation to-day turned naturally upon this interesting subject, and I cannot forget the exultation which our excellent host showed at the very thought of Parga falling under the power of England, so well able to protect it: he described the character of its inhabitants in such favourable terms as made us very desirous of visiting the place; and this wish eventually was gratified. Notwithstanding the number of troops which Ali had now led

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against them, he secretly suspected that shame and defeat would be the result of his attempts, and he paid a compliment to the patriotism of Mr. Foresti which subsequent events showed to have been well deserved.

He also informed us that the priest or chaplain of the Miridites had been with him this morning to borrow one of his rooms, with various other accommodations, for the celebration of mass. Thus those very barbarians, after participating in the benefit of their Saviour's redemption, had gone, willing instruments in a tyrant's hand, to massacre, without the least personal provocation, a set of Christians whose only fault was their hatred and opposition to tyranny. What a labyrinth is the human heart!

During the absence of his father, Mouchtar acted as caimacam or vice-pasha; but the pressure of public business did not seem to lessen his avidity for amusements, or interrupt him in the enjoyment of them. The divan or council, at which old Mahomet Effendi presided, met every day; but its members were mere puppets, and could do no act without the permission of their master: accordingly all the tatars were put in requisition and were in constant motion between the capital and Prevesa. Ali indeed sometimes contrived to throw the odium of oppressive and disagreeable measures upon his council, though he never allowed it free agency. His insatiable love of power made him anxious that all the minutest springs of state machinery should depend upon himself: and this desire was seconded by that knowledge which he had acquired of his territories during his extensive peregrinations, and by his extraordinary memory, which enabled him to remember persons and facts at a wonderful distance of time. Every one seemed conscious of the power which this knowledge gave him, and when absent, his presence was still, as it were, felt: nothing can illustrate

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this better than the expression of the physician Metaxà to Dr. Holland, "that there was a cord tied round every individual in his dominions, longer or shorter, more or less fine; but every one of which cords went to him and was held in his hand."*

One day during Ali's absence, having paid a visit to Mouchtar Pasha, as we were sitting in his saloon, such violent shrieks and outcries from a female were heard beneath the window, that he ordered her to be brought up. The poor creature being introduced, ran and threw herself at his feet kissing the hem of his garment and imploring him, with the most moving lamentations, to save her daughter, a young girl only fourteen years old, whom Sechrì Effendi, one of Ali's chief secretaries, and a violent bigot, had seduced to the Mahometan faith. Can it be believed, that this brute in a human shape set up a loud laugh, and ordered his chaoushes to turn the poor suppliant out of his serai?

February 26.—This day a festival or fair was held in booths upon a vacant space, about a mile from the city, at the church of St. Theodore, and in honour of its patron. At about eleven o'clock A. M. we set out for the scene of action, and were passed on the road by Signore Alexi mounted on a finely caparisoned white charger, and accompanied by a long train of Greek gentlemen. Ali himself used frequently to mingle in these assemblies. Mr. Jones met him two years after at a celebration of this very festival, when a remarkable incident occurred. Hearing a confused noise and tumult in a particular part of the plain, Mr. Jones looked round and saw the vizir waving his hand to and fro with a peculiar kind of motion; after which he observed some Albanian guards running off

* Holland's Travels, p. 187.

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with a detected pickpocket towards the gallows-tree, on which they instantly hung him up and left his body dangling in its branches till the fair was ended. To this instance of his summary mode of justice I will add one which is recorded of his ingenuity in the discovery of fraud. A Greek priest of Ioannina had lent a considerable sum to a merchant of whose integrity he had no suspicion, and had unfortunately omitted to take any voucher for his deposit: when payment therefore was demanded and the merchant denied having received any money, the poor priest had no resource left but to lay the case before the vizir. Ali having ordered both parties before him and heard their statements, without being able to come to any conclusion, dismissed the cause; but ordered that both the plaintiff and the defendant should be taken and weighed before they left the serai. After a considerable lapse of time he sent for them again before his presence, when the only examination entered into was that of their respective weights; and it was found that the merchant had increased, whilst the priest had proportionably decreased in bulk, not through any bodily indisposition, but evidently from vexation of spirit occasioned by the injurious conduct of his false friend. Ali then, with great severity in his countenance and tone of voice, demanded of the merchant if he still denied the debt, of which his own sleek condition, as well as the other's wasted form, gave evidence against him; and whether he chose to restore the money or to lose his head? upon which the rogue instantly confessed his villainy, implored the mercy of his judge, and promised to repay his accuser with interest.

When we arrived at the fair, we found the people amusing themselves in various sports, and the priests just ready to begin a service, which was delayed only

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till Alexi should arrive. At length he entered and the church was soon crowded with people, each of whom, as he came in, paid adoration to a dirty picture of the saint placed in triumph on a frame in the middle of the aisle: this he kissed with great reverence, crossing himself both before and after the ceremony: so much had this painting suffered from the lips of its admirers that scarcely a feature could be traced upon the canvass: the women were as usual concealed from public view by the latticework of the gallery. Various mummeries were now exhibited at the great altar, which stands at the east end of the church before the Holy of Holies, a place venerated like the adytum of an ancient temple, through the apertures of which the priests ran in and out, like puppets in a show, dressed in their most gaudy habiliments: the Kyrie Eleeyson was sung and a few psalms chaunted, during which process boys in surplices came to receive our contributions, swinging incense in brazen censers: this custom is observed, as some say, on account of its grateful odour and utility in a hot climate, or, according to others, to drive away demons and evil spirits;

Λύχνων γὰρ ὀσμὰς οὐ φιλοῦσι δαίμονες.*

My friend and myself put each a dollar into the chalice, for which we received three puffs of frankincense; but Signore Alexi, who contributed a whole handful of sequins, was literally enveloped in a cloud: chaunts were afterwards sung in honour of different saints, and at the conclusion of each the chalice for contributions was brought round as before: these worthies however were enriched only with a few paras. So ridiculous and absurd are the mummeries of Greek worship within their churches, that in all probability nothing but Mahometan austerity pre-

* Plat. Com. in Athen. lib. x. p. 412.

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vents them from practising more nonsense in public than their catholic brethren of the west. The Turks indeed hold the Greek rites in the utmost contempt, and their picture-worship in perfect abhorrence; their own faith being intimately connected with the spirituality of the Deity, of whom they cannot endure any corporeal representations. I once had a conversation with a respectable Turkish agà upon this subject, who assured me that if the "Greek dogs" were not such idolaters he should have some respect for them; but when he saw them led by such ignorant and sordid impostors as he knew their priests to be, he could not possibly restrain his indignation and contempt. He then asked me why the English Franks never bowed down to kiss pictures, and why they did not cross themselves? and when I explained to him some of the chief articles of the Protestant faith and the discipline of our church, which discards all ceremonies that tend to debase the mind, and retains those only which are necessary to add dignity to religious worship, he exclaimed that all this was very good (καλὰ καλὰ); but that we were no more *Christians* than he was; meaning to pay us the greatest compliment in his power.

Certainly the Greek priests exert very few endeavours to enlighten their countrymen, since ignorance and credulity is the source from which they derive the greatest part of their revenues. They teach their flocks therefore just as much of Christianity as is necessary for their craft, instruct them more in legends and miracles of saints than in the life and doctrines of their Saviour, inculcate a lively faith in purgatory, with the efficacy of masses, crossings, and the tedious repetition of prayers, just as if divine like human charity could be forced by sturdy importunity: hence attendance upon ceremonious institutions counterbalances the neglect of religious duties, and

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the people, unimpressed with the true stamp of devotion, possess a most adulterated system, not only of faith, but of morality. I trust however that the time is not far distant when these abominations shall cease for ever.

The Greek clergy of Ioannina were numerous, and many of them very poor: some followed various professions, but especially husbandry and fishing: these were distinguishable from the laity only by a high round cap and a beard flowing over the breast: a Greek priest despises the tonsure as an innovation of the Latin church; he is only allowed to marry once, and his wife must be a virgin; if he marries a second time, he is silenced, and termed an apopapas. Monks or caloyers are bound by a vow of continency, and from them the bishops and other dignitaries of the church are generally selected. The Archbishop of Ioannina was appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the recommendation of the vizir: he had four suffragan bishops under him, viz. of Vellas (or Konizza), Argyro-Castro (or Drinopolis), Delvino, and Paramithia. His jurisdiction was very limited, for Ali Pasha would permit neither priests nor laity to possess more power than was absolutely necessary within his dominions.

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CHAPTER V.

HAVING proceeded thus far in the journal of our residence at Ioannina, during the course of which I have been necessarily led to bring forward many characteristic traits of its late celebrated ruler, I am induced to think that a more detailed account of his adventurous life, in which the causes of his uncommon success may be connected with their effects, will not prove unacceptable to my readers. The earlier parts of this wild and romantic history never can be very accurately and authentically described, since they rest upon oral traditions, or accounts which have been compiled from those traditions after a long intervening time: and though I have perused an immense number of such records, I never met with two that agreed with each other, either in the relation of facts or the developement of motives. In all such cases it is necessary to be well acquainted with the character of the persons from whom we receive information, and to know what have been their opportunities of acquiring it. For my own part, I found none more able or willing to impart this information than the old Albanian governors of cities, fortresses and seraglios, which we visited in our

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excursions: these men were the early friends of Ali in his youth, sharers of his toils, and partners of his success: still even their accounts are subject in a great degree to exaggeration from vain glory, and their chronological arrangement to disorder from defect of memory; the errors therefore that proceed from these sources must be corrected by a careful and discriminating comparison of written documents,* as well as from the observations of those persons who have had the good fortune to view and sagacity to connect the chain of political events, in the secluded seats of literature and science. On one occasion, which will be hereafter mentioned, I was fortunate enough to gain some elucidation of Ali's early history from the great actor in its scenes: had I been more skilled in the Romaic language, I should not have despaired of receiving an authentic detail of the whole from his own mouth. The latter portion of his history, after its hero had established a name, and connected his dominions in political union with surrounding nations, offers itself much more advantageously to investigation and research.

However before we enter upon the biographical part of this memoir, let us take a cursory view of that curious and warlike people, whose valour was the basis of their chieftain's aggrandizement, and the bulwark of his power. But in this description the reader must bear in mind that the character of the Albanian is referred back a few years, to that time when, like the Indian hunter, he stalked free and lawless over his native mountains. His peculiar habits, manners, and customs were considerably

* I met with a detailed account of the Life of Ali Pasha written by an Albanian poet in Romaic verse, and procured a transcript of it from some of Signore Psalida's scholars; but the young rogues, in their hurry to get the reward, wrote it in so confused and illegible a hand that it has been of little service to me in my labours.

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altered by the despotic sway and consolidated power of Alí Pasha; and though the general elements of his character may have remained the same, yet the strong collision of external circumstances wore down many rough points and prominent features in its configuration.

The country now called ALBANIA is difficult of definition. It was at first confined to the little district of Albanopolis,* (now Albassan) in Southern Illyricum, afterwards called *New Epirus.* From this insignificant origin, the courage of its increasing inhabitants, shown especially during the weak disorderly reigns of the Byzantine emperors, have extended the limits, or rather the name of ALBANIA over greatest part of Illyricum and Epirus; so that in the present day it borders to the N. upon Bosnia, to the E. upon Macedonia and Thessaly, to the S. upon Acarnania and the Ambracian Gulf, to the W. upon the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic; though the Albanians by no means form the chief population within these limits, being interspersed with numerous tribes of Servians, Bulgarians, Valachians, Osmanlis, and Romaic or modern Greeks: so that in the same town it is not uncommon to hear spoken the Turkish, Romaic, Bulgarian, Valachian, and Albanian languages, and sometimes a patois, or mixture of them all. Albania is not unfrequently divided into Upper and Lower, though the boundary line of these divisions is very undefined: they might perhaps with great propriety be styled Illyrian and Epirotian Albania.†

* Ptolemy the geographer, who flourished in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus is the first upon record who makes mention of it. Ἀλβάνων Ἀλβανόπολις· l. iii. c. 12. Dion Cassius enumerating the Roman conquests in Asia Minor, makes mention of Albania and calls it Ἀλβανίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ, as if in contradistiuction to an Albania elsewhere.

† The districts which are generally acknowledged in the country are as follow. Scutari, Upper and Lower Dibra, Croia, Dulcigno, Duratzo, Tiranna, Albassan, Ochri, Avlona, Berat, Musachia, Desnitza, Scrapari, Koritza, Kolo-

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With regard to the origin of this people, who lay as it were dormant so many centuries, "occulto velut arbor ævo," during the incursions of the barbarians by whom at various times the Eastern Empire was overrun,* history is quite silent; all is left to conjecture; and conjecture itself has in this instance but slight grounds for the formation of an hypothesis. Their language being entirely oral, no written documents can remain to aid us in our researches: in the opinion of Col. Leake, than whom few persons are better able to judge, they are the descendants of some ancient Illyrian nation, preserved by their mountain barriers from the intermixture of Goths, Huns, Sclavonians, and other invading tribes who settled in the country; and the only hypothesis which seems able to stand against this, refers them to an emigration of Asiatic Albanians, concerning whom Strabo has left us a copious narrative, wherein some traits of character curiously coincide with these Europeans, modified by the inventions of modern science and the introduction of different religious rites.

The features of the Albanian, his narrow forehead, keen grey eye, small mouth, thin arched eyebrow, high cheek bones, and pointed chin, strongly mark a Scythian physiognomy; but as I am ignorant of the language, which by the best judges is considered a dialect of the Sclavonic with an intermixture of many other tongues, and have no other data of any consequence, I feel myself unqualified to offer an opinion upon this point. The

nia, Konitza, Dangli, Toskaria, Malacastra, Arberi or Liapuriá, Argyro-Castro, Kimarra, Delvino, Liutzaria, Zogoriá, Palaio-Pogojanni, Ioannina, and Tzamouria: to which might now be added Arta, and Luro, since as many Albanians are settled in these provinces as in most of the others abovementioned.

* From the time of Ptolemy the geographer till the 11th century I believe they are not mentioned by any historian.

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name of ALBANIANS seems to have been taken from Ptolemy by the Byzantine writers;* for the Turks call them ARNAOUTS, whilst their appellation in their own language is SKYPETARS, their country SKYPERI, and their dialect SKYP. They are divided into four great tribes, or clans, called DGEDGES, TOSKIDES, LIAPIDES, and TZIAMIDES;† in each of which there are certain shades of difference with regard to language and manners, that render it possible for a native to distinguish them from each other: but the principal traits of the Albanian character seem to have remained unaltered since the time of Alexius Comnenus,‡ when they begin to be noticed by historians as a hardy and nomad, but cruel, rapacious, and insubordinate people. After the death of the great Scanderbeg, when the Albanians, who had

* The titles given them by the Byzantine historians are Ἀλβάνοι, Ἀρβάνοι, Ἀλβανῖται, Ἀρβανῖται, Ἀλβανῆτες, &c.

† Called by the Romaic writers, Γκέγκιδες, Τόσκιδες, Λιάπιδες, Τζιάμιδες. The Albanian pronunciation, according to Colonel Leake, whom I consider as the best authority, is NGEGE, TOSKE, LIAPE, TZAMI. There are many subordinate tribes, most of which the reader may see in the map. The first of these occupy the northern districts of Scutari, Dibra, Dulcigno, and Durazzo. The second dwell in the great plains of Albassan, Musakia, and Malacastra, stretching from the hills of Durazzo to Berat and Avlona, and along the banks of the Voïussa, or Aous, to Tepeleni and Klissura (the ancient Fauces Antigoneæ), and from thence to the boundaries of Koritza eastward. The third are a race of wild mountaineers spread over the country between Toskeriá and the great plain of Delvino, bounded by the Ionian sea: they are so dirty in their habits and so addicted to plunder that the derivation of their name is commonly referred to the Lapithæ of antiquity. The fourth tribe extends over that part of ancient Thesprotia which lies chiefly to the south of the river Kalamas or Thyamis, comprehending Philates, Margariti, and the Cassopæan mountains.

‡ Οἱ τὰς Δεαβόλεις νεμόμενοι Ἀλβανοὶ νομάδες. L. ii. c. 55. Ἀλβανοὺς οἱ περὶ Θετταλίαν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτονόμοι νομάδες. L. ii. c. 24. Οἱ τὰ ὀρεινὰ τῆς Θετταλίας νεμόμενοι Ἀλβανοὶ ἀβασίλευτοι, &c. L. ii. c. 28. Εὐχερεῖς ὄντες πρὸς μεταβολὰς καὶ φύσει νεωτεροποιοί. Cantacuzeni, Hist. l. ii. c. 32. sub init.

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made a most brave resistance, fell beneath the Ottoman yoke, an innovation was introduced into their religious faith: till this time they at least professed Christianity, however uninstructed they might have been in its peculiar tenets and doctrines; the progress of apostacy however was at first very slow, and the religion of Mahomet did not gain many adherents till about the end of the sixteenth century; when a law was promulged which secured their estates in the possession of those Albanian families who should bring up one of their members in the Mahometan faith. This had the double effect, of keeping the country more clear of Osmanli settlers than the rest of Turkey, and of soon transferring the chief property into the hands of the new proselytes. At various times however whole villages, towns, or districts, for political advantages, have voluntarily renounced the religion of their ancestors; and these intances have occurred not unfrequently in the present times. Yet the Albanian Mahometan is not more observant of doctrines, rites, and ceremonies under his new law than he was under his old one, and is looked upon with great contempt by the rigid Osmanli. He frequently takes a Christian woman to his wife, carries his sons to mosque, and allows his daughters to attend their mother to church; nay, he even goes himself alternately to both places of worship, and eats with his family out of the same dish, in which are viands forbidden to the disciples of Mahomet. Very few of them undergo the rite of circumcision: hence when the pasha, in fits of religious zeal, sent sheiks to perform the operation throughout certain districts, many of the adults died in consequence. They are in general too poor to avail themselves of the licence which their religion grants for polygamy, but are content with one wife, who is chosen, like any other animal, more for a slave or

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drudge than for a companion. They are by no means jealous of their women, nor do they confine them like the Turks and Greeks: the wretched creature of a wife, with one or two infants tied in a bag behind her back, cultivates the ground and attends to the household affairs by turns, whilst her lordly master ranges over the forest in search of game, guards the flocks, or watches behind a rock with his fusil ready to aim at the unwary traveller. These women are in general hard-featured, with complexions rendered coarse by exposure to all varieties of weather, and with persons extenuated by constant toil and scanty fare. In some districts they meet with better treatment, and are found ready to share the dangers of war with the men, as well as the labours of agriculture. One fault of very ill savour attaches itself to both sexes; they are dirty in their habits to a proverb, and never lay aside their apparel either by day or night: having no such conveniences as beds, they sleep on the ground, with skins or mats for covering, in the midst of filth which might turn the stomach of an Esquimaux: their huts or cabins have no chimney, but plenty of crevices are left in the roof and walls for the egress of smoke and the admission of rain; nor is any other furniture often seen than a little earthenware, with an iron pot to cook their victuals: they are far from being luxurious in their food, and intoxication is a vice of rare occurrence; yet at times they will both eat and drink immoderately, especially if it be at another person's cost: they are very greedy of gain and will almost starve themselves to procure money, which they readily expend in the purchase of arms; and many of their tribes never lay aside their weapons, even during the time of sleep: when an Albanian is completely armed, he carries a musket over his shoulder, a pistol and an ataghan in his belt, with a

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ALBANIAN PALLEARS IN PURSUIT OF AN ENEMY.

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narrow crooked sabre slung at his side in a manner somewhat similar to our hussars; thus equipped, and shorn after the fashion of the Abantes, with his little red skull-cap on his head, his fleecy capote thrown carelessly over his shoulder, his embroidered jacket, his white camise, or kilt, and his scarlet buskins embossed with silver, he calls himself a palikar, looks with infinite disdain upon the rest of the world, and in his gait assumes that haughty characteristic strut which is observable, though in a less degree, among our own Caledonian highlanders.

A martial spirit and an eager thirst for gain lead the Albanian to engage very readily in the service of foreign states;* but like the generality of mountaineers, his attachment to his native land is so strong that he will never enlist but for a limited time; and the idea of returning to his native hills supports him under all privations and disasters: when he serves under the beys or chiefs of his own country, his enrolment is sometimes voluntary, for the hope of booty or revenge; and sometimes purchased; in which case the pay is proportioned to the valour and merit of the individual: his school of war is one of unbridled licence more than of military discipline, of cunning more than magnanimity; and the chiefs having only an imperfect authority over their vassals, these latter will sometimes disband themselves during a campaign and return to their own homes: there they may be seen indulging in perfect indolence, stretched out in the sun to sleep, or tuning their guitars to wild music in songs that celebrate the actions of favourite chieftains or of themselves; for as their valour is stained by perfidy,

* It would seem that the people of Epirus, like the inhabitants of Switzerland, always had a propensity for foreign mercenary warfare. Vid. Diod. Sic. vol. ii. p. 494. ed. Wessel.

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so is their merit by presumption; and they delight in boasting of deeds done either in fact or imagination. The retribution of blood was in full force amongst them until the despotism of Ali Pasha put a stop to this evil as well as to that system of brigandage which made robbery a profession and removed from it every token of disgrace.

The Albanian costume, especially that of the women, retains a singular resemblance to the antique. The abdominal system of the men seems greatly compressed by the tight ligature of the zone about their loins; this however, together with constant practice, enables them to bear long and difficult journeys on foot; and their activity in climbing rocks and mountains is extraordinary. In temper they are somewhat irritable, and very rarely forgive a blow: they are by no means deficient in talent and acuteness, and it is a remarkable fact that the three greatest men produced in Turkey during the present age, have all derived their origin from Albania. These are the celebrated Vizir Mustafà Bairactar, Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt, and the subject of this present memoir.

Tepeleni, a small town of the Toskides, on the left bank of the Aöus or Voïussa, near the exit of that river from the straits of Klissura, was the birth-place of Ali about the year 1741.* Its beys held it in a kind of feudal tenure under the pasha of Berat. The family† whose surname is Hissas, had been established for several centuries in this place, and one of its members, named Muzzo, having been very successful in the honour-

* The exact year of his birth is not known: in my first edition I said 1750; but I have reason to think that Mr. Pouqueville is nearer the mark who says 1741.

† It is thought probable that this family was one of those which when Albania fell beneath the Ottoman yoke changed their religious faith to retain their possessions. Ali himself said they came from Anadoli in Asia.

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able profession of a kleft, secured the lordship of Tepeleni to himself and transmitted it to his descendants. Ali's grandfather, Mouchtar, who was considered the greatest warrior of his age, fell bravely fighting at the celebrated siege of Corfu in 1717, just as he had scaled the ramparts and was animating his troops to follow his example. His sword was long kept as a relic in the armoury of Corfu, from whence it suddenly disappeared during the occupation of that island by the French: I have heard that Ali offered a large sum of money to gain possession of it, but without success. The father of our hero, named Vely Bey, was said to have been a man of good natural disposition, but being deprived of his patrimony by a coalition of his two elder brothers, he deserted his native place for a time, turned kleft, and having acquired influence and followers, marched suddenly upon Tepeleni and took signal vengeance on his fraternal foes by burning them alive in a house whither they had fled for refuge. This exploit not only recovered his patrimony, but secured to him the sovereignty of the district; after which as he had but one wife, who was a Georgian slave, he looked round for a matrimonial connection to strengthen his interest; and selected for that purpose the celebrated Khamco daughter of a powerful Bey of Konitza. Yet even this alliance did not secure him from the attacks of the neighbouring Beys and Agàs, jealous of his power, who were in those times constantly engaged in a state of petty warfare amongst each other for the purposes of pillage, or revenge, or extension of territory. Ever harassed by these enemies against whom he was unable to make head, and tortured by the stings of remorse, it is said that he died of grief, leaving two wives, with a daughter and two sons. The mother of Ali and of his sister Shaïnitza was a woman of uncommon talents,

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undaunted courage, and determined resolution; but fierce and implacable as a tigress: her first act was to get rid of her rival, whom together with her child she took off by poison; thus securing all the rights and property of her husband to Ali, who at this time was about fourteen years of age. Far from yielding under the disastrous circumstances of fortune, she armed herself with double fortitude, and rising superior to the weakness of her sex, carried a musket against her enemies at the head of her faithful clan, performing the duties both of general and soldier: in most of these enterprises she took her son as an associate, though she kept him within the strictest limits of obedience. Foreseeing that his security depended chiefly upon his military education, she accustomed him early to the perils of an active and romantic life, and improved his naturally strong constitution by exercise and temperance: she engaged the old and faithful retainers of her family to animate his zeal by a recital of the history and exploits of his ancestors, to correct his rash impetuosity by their experience, to instruct him in the manly exercises of an Albanian palikar, and to school him in the knowledge of mankind and the arts of governing them.

Ali's progress kept pace with her most sanguine hopes; and to the habits of his early life many traits in his future character may be traced. His great object was to secure the attachment of his Albanian clansmen: in this he completely succeeded by assiduously cultivating their society, by partaking of their dangers in war and amusements in peace, by listening to their wants, deciding their quarrels, flattering their prejudices, and imitating their customs. During his military excursions he traversed this rugged country on foot with his musket over his shoulder, and thence acquired a useful knowledge of all the mountain fastnesses, and every opening for advance or retreat: by

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constant intercourse with his military companions, whose histories and adventures he was accustomed to learn by heart, he so improved his naturally strong memory that on some occasions, when an old associate in the profession of kleftes has been taken and brought before him, he has astonished the culprit, before condemnation, with a recital of all the principal events of his life: in the same manner he has enumerated the merits of those whom he was about to reward; and he has been known to select for a dangerous expedition many hundreds, I have heard even some thousands, of individuals, every one of whom he was desirous, or not unwilling, to get rid of, for some reason buried in his own breast. Sometimes these powers of memory were exercised upon subjects degrading to his dignity: indeed the early habits of his youth joined to the curious texture of his natural disposition, led him to the commission of acts, in which so much of what was low and sordid was combined with what was high and daring, that I almost fear lest those of my readers who are unacquainted with the singular beings produced in these wild countries, and are unable to reconcile their deeds with known principles of action, may not give that credit to my narrative, of which I have endeavoured at least to make it worthy. It therefore affords me pleasure when I meet with anecdotes in authentic and impartial histories, which illustrate and confirm the views I have taken of this Albanian chieftain's character; and it is a sense of justice which I owe to myself that induces me now to anticipate an incident which occurred in the latter part of his life, related by a gentleman who had not the shadow of a reason for misrepresentation, and which shows in the strongest light possible how some of his early and grovelling propensities adhered to him even when seated on a throne. "Towards the end of the year 1817 some unfor-

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tunate Greeks fled from the tyranny of this inexorable despot and took refuge in the island of Santa Maura. Ali having applied to the local authorities to have the refugees given up to him in order that they might be punished, was informed that it was inconsistent with the character and dignity of the British nation to refuse protection to the innocent and oppressed; nor could they give up those against whom no crime whatever was alleged. The Pasha being thus disappointed, formally applied for a restitution of the property belonging to him, consisting of a few articles of wearing apparel carried off by these unfortunate individuals, every item of which was minutely described, in a list accompanying the application, specifying not only the number of shirts and stockings in the possession of each individual, but such as were whole and such as had been *patched* or *mended*. Those who are acquainted with the costume of these unhappy creatures, will be able to form a just estimate of the value of their wardrobe."* Those also who know how Ali kept the keys of his stores, from which he gave out every article under his own minute inspection, will find no difficulty in crediting this story which might otherwise appear almost incredible.

With regard to bodily exercises, young Ali Bey soon became the best horseman, the swiftest runner, and the most expert marksman of his day. The old governor of Tepeleni, when we visited that place, spoke in raptures of his proficiency in these arts at an early age, and his eyes glistened as he recounted his gallant exploits and the fine manner in which he would lead up his troops to the assault of a town.

* Hist. and Typogr. Essay on the Ionian Islands by W. Goodisson, Assistant-Surgeon in H. M.'s 75th Regiment, p. 99.

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In the mean time Ali's mother, who had resisted the attacks of her confederated enemies with success, and in her turn had committed depredations against the property and violence against the persons of her neighbours to a dreadful extent, fell at once, by one blow of fortune, into the lowest abyss of misery. Gardiki, a large town near Argyro-Castro, whose inhabitants had suffered by her incursions, dispatched a secret expedition by night against Tepeleni, which succeeded in carrying off both the mother and daughter; Ali himself narrowly escaping the snare by a fortunate absence in a marauding expedition, or, as others report, by his attendance at a marriage feast. The women were carried to Gardiki, and there treated in a manner unbecoming the most rude and savage barbarians; being kept in close confinement during the day, and at night led round the city by a guard to every house in rotation, and subjected to the brutal passions of its masters. They continued more than a month in this dreadful situation, when their misfortunes excited commiseration in a bey of the family of Dosti,* whose turn it was to receive them into his dwelling. This generous man, with a few confidential servants, conducted them, at the hazard of his life, out of the city, and brought them in safety to Tepeleni, where they found the indignant Ali preparing to attempt their liberation with a large body of troops which he had collected together. The Gardikiotes, when they discovered the flight of the captives, pursued them, but in vain; after which they returned home, and burned the mansion of their benevolent preserver.

This stain upon the house of Hissas was considered indelible but by blood. The authority of his mo-

* It is a curious circumstance that the ablest general with whom Ali ever contended, and who commanded against him in the siege of Gardiki, forty years after, was of this family, named Demir Dost or Dosti.

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ther, and the never-ceasing entreaties of his sister, who inherited all her mother's spirit, and who, as the old governor of Tepeleni told us, had she been a man, would have fought with Ali inch by inch for his dominions, were exerted to keep alive, within his heart, the flame of vengeance. The former on her death-bed declared to her son that her spirit would never rest till he had exterminated the guilty race; and the latter, in all her conversations with him, ended every speech by the expression that she never could know peace of mind, or die with satisfaction, till she had stuffed the couches of her apartment with the hair of the Gardikiote women. After the lapse of nearly half a century, the vengeance of these furies was executed by Ali's stern decree — the guilty, but unfortunate Gardiki was razed to the ground, and Shaïnitza's head reclined upon the raven tresses of its daughters.*

Soon after this adventure Ali was desirous of leading forth the troops which he commanded, and of trying his strength with the enemies of his house. Naturally of an ardent temper, and impatient of controul, he burned to escape from those trammels in which he was kept by his mother, and at length extorted from her an unwilling consent that he should take the field. He was fortunate in his first attempts, but had neither troops nor money enough to prosecute his success: he was then defeated in his turn, and wandering about the country to escape his pur-

* The temper of this woman is said to have been most cruel and inexorable. Once, when the emissaries of her brother had carried off a beautiful virgin from the town of Kalarites, to be imprisoned in his detestable harem, the women of the place formed a deputation to Shaïnitza to entreat her intercession with Ali, to restore the damsel to her disconsolate parents. Her answer to their request was, "Get ye gone. She would have married a ploughman, and now she will lead the life of a queen."

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suers, was indebted for his safety to the benevolence and fidelity of several individuals.

On his return to Tepeleni he was received with indignant reproaches by his mother, who it is said threatened to clothe him in female attire, and shut him up in the harem or apartment of the women; and when, after the most ardent solicitations, he gained from her fresh supplies, and permission to try again the fortune of war, she added, in the true laconic style, that she expected to see him return upon the shoulders of his troops, either as a conqueror or a corpse.

In the campaign which ensued, his evil genius at first predominated, as he was defeated in battle, deserted by his followers and left wholly without resources; but in his retreat, having entered the ruins of a deserted monastery, as he stood there musing upon his melancholy prospects, he mechanically raked up the ground with his staff; when hearing a hollow sound and meeting with resistance, he instantly commenced throwing aside the soil, and his exertions were soon rewarded by the discovery of a casket filled with Venetian sequins; the deposit probably of some unfortunate person who had been suddenly cut off in disastrous times. This treasure relieved him at once from his distresses, appeased the anger of his mother, and enabled him, young as he then was, to connect himself very advantageously in a matrimonial alliance. He now determined to make one last and desperate effort against his ancient foes; so he raised fresh levies, and departed eager for revenge, at the head of a considerable force. In this expedition however he was accompanied not only by his mother but by his bride, the beautiful and amiable Ermineh, daughter of a bey of Delvino: the former still held the reins of government, endeavouring to curb the impetuosity of her son, and to direct him by her

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counsels and experience. Still every thing appeared unavailing; the confederate beys of Argyro-Castro, Gardiki, Kaminitza, Goritza, Chormovo, and some others, brought an overwhelming army into the field, when the Tepelenites were routed and dispersed amongst the mountains of Mertzika, whose barriers alone saved them from the fury of the conquerors. At this critical juncture, when the star of Hissas seemed inclined to set in darkness, Ali planned and executed a manœuvre that showed his sagacity and decision of character in those trying circumstances which tend to call forth all the latent energies. Himself, his mother, and his wife, were quartered in the house of some friendly partisan, amidst the remains of his little army, collected after his defeat: knowing that a detached portion of his enemies were encamped lower down upon the plain, and that the chiefs of Argyro-Castro and Gardiki, the most powerful of his opponents, had retired to their respective cities, he at once determined upon his mode of action.

Leaving his bed about midnight he gave strict orders to his wife that she should keep the door of their apartment locked, and that when his mother came, according to custom, very early in the morning to inquire after her son, she should answer that he was asleep and wished not to be disturbed: he then departed alone and unprotected, gained the camp of the confederates, and soon after the dawn of day stood in the presence of those who sought his life. Astonished at his appearance they demand the motives of his conduct; when the young chieftain with a modest but undaunted air thus addresses them: "The life and fortune of Ali are in your hands; the honour and existence of his house depends upon your will: here I am, driven to despair: I have fought till my means are exhausted; I now throw myself into your power, and you

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must either destroy or support me against my enemies: but do not suppose that you would derive benefit from the death of Ali: my enemies are in fact yours, and they seek my destruction only to be enabled more easily to place the yoke upon your necks. The chiefs of Argyro-Castro and Gardiki, already too powerful, will profit by my fall to gain the sovereignty of the whole district: Tepeleni, garrisoned by my faithful Arnaouts, might, if I were supported, present a barrier against their ambitious designs: but if they once gain possession of it, they will not only have the means of annoying their neighbours, but of securing themselves from retaliation. Destroy me then, if you please; but be assured that my destruction will lead to your own." Ali knew that he had no danger to apprehend from thus placing himself in the power of his foes. The voluntary suppliant of an Albanian chieftain is sure, not only of protection in his presence, but of an escort on his return: this is accorded even to a robber, or to the greatest outcast of society. The grandeur of Ali's resolutions, his manly open countenance, the fame of his valiant deeds, the name of his family, and, above all, the jealousy which he artfully contrived to insinuate into the minds of the beys, excited in all an interest for his welfare, and determined them not only to spare his life, but to assist him.

In the mean time his mother came as usual to his chamber door, and was answered by the wife according to her instructions: in about an hour she returned and received a similar answer: this being repeated a third time, she began to be alarmed, and suspecting that all was not right, ordered the door to be broken open. Not finding Ali within, and learning in what manner he had departed, she tore her hair, and rushing out of the house in wild

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disorder, took the same route her son had taken, shrieking violently, and calling upon his name till the mountains echoed with her cries. No long time elapsed before she met the object of her search returning to her presence at the head of those very troops who had espoused his cause, and whose assistance enabled him so effectually to make head against his remaining enemies, that he obtained peace, strengthened the fortifications of his native place, and secured his family and fortune. From this decisive act he dated the commencement of his future glory.

Ali now resolved to take the management of affairs into his own hands; he no longer suffered his mother's interference in war and politics, but confined her to the apartments of the harem: her death, which happened soon afterwards, has been ascribed by some to his jealous policy; but this accusation I disbelieve. Although from a consideration of his character and conduct it would seem that no fear of remorse, no tie of humanity, no impulse of affection, ever raised an obstacle to him in the perpetration of any atrocity; although in reviewing his tyrannous acts, his torturings and confiscations, his robberies, rapes, and abuse of mankind, his frauds, and perjuries, his burning of towns and villages, his abduction of goods and cattle and children, with a thousand other enormities, we might fancy ourselves perusing a page from the annals of Pandæmonium, yet I cannot consent to brand his name with the crime of matricide. Crimes of the deepest dye he readily committed, but the fierceness of his nature seemed to relax when he was approached by the objects of natural affection; and to his children and their offspring he appeared sensibly and cordially attached. I have read in an account which

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pretends to be genuine, that he shot his favourite nephew in one of the apartments of his palace of Litaritza: but I once spent an hour in that very apartment with Ali's chief physician, waiting for an audience; and this gentleman, in whose arms the young bey expired, gave me the particulars of his death, which was the consequence of a fever: he informed me that the vizir was so fond of the youth that he could scarcely be induced to quit his bedside, and so inconsolable at his loss that he had never entered into the room from that time. I feel the more anxious to rescue Ali's fame from any unmerited aspersions, because my duty to the reader and my regard for truth will necessarily lead me to exhibit his character in very unfavourable points of view; though without doubt he would have considered himself flattered by that picture from which an Englishman starts back in horror. In Turkey the life of man is estimated by a very different standard from our own, and those deeds which we should designate as crimes of the blackest dye, would be extolled by their perpetrator as acts of refined policy: some portion therefore of the enormity of his vices must in fairness be charged upon his religion, his race, and the state of society in which he lived. Another thing, now I am upon this subject, let me be permitted to mention. In the anecdotes relating to this extraordinary personage, no pains have been spared to sift the truth from what was false or doubtful, and to penetrate into the real motives of his actions; nor have any been introduced into these pages but such as I have had the means of authenticating to my own satisfaction. Could the reader see but half the stories I possess respecting Ali Pasha, collected both from friends and foes, he would be convinced that I might have compiled a history of his life, in comparison

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with which that of Jonathan Wilde himself would have appeared like the memoirs of a Saint.*

Ali being now free from all immediate danger, determined to pursue that path which at this time frequently conducted its followers to the highest honours of the state. He became a leader of banditti, and in his capacity of kleft so infested the mountainous districts of Zagori and Kolonia, that Kourt Pasha of Berat took up arms to defend the country, defeated his band, and captured their chief. His youth and the beauty of his person recommended him strongly to the favour of his conqueror, who, instead of treating him like a rebel, retained him in his court and honoured him with his confidence: nor, if reports be true, was the wife of this pasha insensible to the charms of the young hero. In a war which soon afterwards broke out between Kourt and the pasha of Scutari, the most powerful of the Albanian chieftains, Ali distinguished himself by so many acts of bravery and ingratiated himself thereby so much with the soldiery, that Kourt's hasnadar or treasurer, a man of deep policy and great experience, strongly advised his master either to put him to death or to secure his fidelity by giving him his daughter in marriage.† The first part of this counsel was incompatible with the pasha's notions of honour and his humane disposition; the second was rejected, on account of the indignity of taking a needy adventurer into alliance with one of the first families in

* This stands as in the first edition: subsequent investigation has convinced me that many of these stories are too true; though there exist reasons against my bringing them, except a few, before the public eye.

† Exactly similar advice was given to Augustus by Mæcenas with respect to Agrippa. Τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστε ἢ γαμβρόν σου γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι. Dion Cass. c. liv. 6.

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the Ottoman empire, whose pedigree could show at least ten individuals dignified with the title of vizir: nor was it probable that Ali himself would have consented to degrade his first wife whom he tenderly loved, by taking another who from her high rank must have had precedence in his harem. A middle course therefore was pursued, and being honourably dismissed from Berat, he was sent back to his native place with valuable presents: the daughter of Kourt, much to her dissatisfaction, for she had seen Ali and heard of his valiant deeds, was affianced to Ibrahim Bey, whose family was equal to her own.

It was impossible for a youth of Ali's disposition to remain long inactive. Being at peace with his neighbours, and scarcely strong enough to commence offensive operations against them, he resumed his former occupation of kleft, and ravaging the mountains of Epirus was taken prisoner by the pasha of Ioannina. Earnest application was now made to this chieftain by his own beys, as well as by the pasha of Delvino, and other governors of the neighbouring districts, to consign the young robber over to condign punishment; and Ali had a hair-breadth escape from death in that very capital where he was destined to reign as sovereign. The pasha long hesitated, but conceiving it more consistent with good policy in the turbulent state of his own territories and of Epirus in general, to permit his prisoner to live, he not only liberated him, but supplied him with the means of carrying on his future operations. These he employed in embodying a large band of freebooters, who committed so many depredations in the various districts of Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, and rendered the country so unsafe for merchants and travellers of every description, that the Porte found it necessary to take

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cognizance of their outrages, and sent an order to the derven-pasha of Rumelie to attack and exterminate the offenders.

The derven-pasha at this time happened to be that very Kourt in whose service we have seen Ali once engaged. He marched against the banditti with a considerable force; but the tried courage of these wild Arnaouts, their intimate acquaintance with the mountain passes, and above all, the abilities of their chief, were more than a match for the vizir; who thought it advisable to attempt by negociation what he was unable to effect by force of arms; he accordingly desired a conference. Here the acuteness and natural eloquence of Ali were as conspicuous as his valour was in the field. He recovered the good will and confidence of Kourt, who he knew was about to march against some rebels of the Porte, and persuaded him not only to secure his pardon at Constantinople, but to accept of his services for the war: in this his military skill and courage contributed mainly to the success of his protector, who not only represented his conduct in a favourable light at Constantinople, but gave him a high military command at his own court. This however he did not retain long: the daughter of Kourt, who had been married against her own inclination to Ibrahim, made overtures to Ali which were answered by him with proportionate alacrity: Ibrahim soon became suspicious of their intrigues, and laid a plan to surprise them in the hour of dalliance: but Ali's good fortune again prevailed; he received notice of his enemy's approach, made his escape with great precipitation, and fled: a wall of great height is shown to this day at Berat which he scaled in his flight. Not thinking it prudent to remain at Tepeleni, so near the powers whom he had offended, he now entered into the

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service of the pasha of Negropont; who, being a stranger, and having just entered upon his government, was glad to purchase the assistance of so experienced and brave a palikar. From this engagement Ali reaped considerable advantages in point of wealth, which enabled him to commence those projects which he always meditated, and to become a robber on so extended a scale that the magnitude of his crimes should hide their deformity. His first attempt was rather too daring for his means: he endeavoured to take advantage of internal sedition in the great city of Argyro-Castro, and to introduce his own troops into the place; but his designs were opposed by a momentary concurrence of all parties, and he was obliged to retreat. He next fell upon the town of Libochobo, on the other side of the plain, which, being unprepared to resist him, submitted to his arms; in a similar manner Lekli, Giates, and some others were subdued. He now determined to attack the strong place of Chormovo, the inhabitants of which had irreconcilably offended him, not only because they had been amongst the earliest confederates against his family, but, as it is said, because some of its citizens encouraged and accompanied the Gardikiotes when they carried off his mother and sister.

His operations against this city strongly indicate the character and disposition of the man, his settled principle of revenge, and his preference of secret artifice to open force. Whilst he was collecting troops for the enterprise, the Chormovites in alarm sent their two primates, named Gicca Dillos and Gicca Allio, to Tepeleni, requesting to know the cause of his threatened hostilities, and the methods by which they might be averted. Ali received the deputies with great civility, replying that he had no cause at all for hostilities against Chormovo, but merely

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of complaint against certain families, whom he named, and assured them that if these persons were expelled from the city, and their habitations burned, he would not molest them. The primates then returned, assembled the citizens, and gave in their report. To save their country, the families thus designated unanimously consented to expatriate themselves; and retired to Argyro-Castro, having received compensation for their houses and effects. The primates then returned to the presence of Ali, and informed him of the result: his reply was—"I am pleased with your conduct; you have shown yourselves my friends indeed; go back to your fellow citizens, and say, that in a few days I will pay them a visit in person, and as I wish not to put them to expence, will bring with me only 200 men: in the mean time take back with you some of my people, for as yet I can scarcely trust those who have so often deceived me." Accordingly the poor primates were obliged to accept this guard of honour, and soon afterwards Ali paid them his promised visit, accompanied not by 200, but by 1200 of his best troops. He was nevertheless received with every demonstration of feigned joy, magnificently treated, and the best quarters possible were given to his troops. These, however, after a lapse of four or five days, began to pick quarrels with their hosts, for which many of them were severely reprimanded, and even punished by their hypocritical master, who asked how they dared to insult the good people of Chormovo, his excellent friends, who had invited him so kindly into their city? He then called the principal inhabitants together, and thus addressed them: "my good friends, I feel greatly for your situation, as my residence amongst you must embarrass your finances; I will therefore relieve you by retiring, with the greatest part of my attendants, to the monastery

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of Tribuchi,* where you shall come to me, that we may draw up and sign articles of friendship and alliance."

Accordingly, to the convent he went; and next day about one hundred of the principal citizens were summoned to attend the conference. The treaty, for the appearance of greater solemnity, was to be drawn up and signed in church, and the hegumenos, or prior, in full robes, was seen standing at the great altar with all due preparations for its formal execution. It is a custom with the Greeks never to enter into a place of religious worship armed: when, therefore, they had deposited their weapons at the church door, these were all seized by Ali's order. In the mean time the solemn farce of the treaty was acting at the high altar; but one of the Chormovites having occasion to quit the church, perceived the seizure of the arms, and ran back to his friends, crying out—"that the priest might stop proceedings, for the infidel had betrayed them." The troops then rushed in, tied them together with ropes, and dispatched them to Tepeleni; after which they marched, under the conduct of Ali, and fell upon Chormovo itself, massacred a great multitude of its unfortunate inhabitants, sold the women and children into slavery, and razed the town to the ground. One man, the head of a family named Prifti, who was particularly obnoxious to Ali, being taken, he ordered a spit to be run through his body, and roasted him alive: it is asserted by many that he performed the inhuman office of executioner with his own hands: but this is not true; it was done by his foster-brother, named Usuf-Araps, the son of a black slave in his father's harem, and surnamed "the blood-drinker."

By this horrid act of vengeance he spread a terror of

* Dedicated to the Panaghia, in the mountains near Chormovo.

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his name throughout the surrounding tribes, many of whom submitted without resistance to his power. Being now comparatively wealthy, he began to practise that art of bribery to which he owes so many of his successes. By his emissaries at Constantinople he procured a commission to attack Selim Pasha of Delvino, who had been denounced as having sold wood out of the forests of the pashalic to the Venetian governments bordering on his territories: moreover Ali well knew that one of the readiest ways of gaining power with the Porte, is to become an instrument of its vengeance. Resorting to his favourite measures of deceit, he carried with him only a small band of troops, under pretence of flying from his enemies; and being received into Delvino, soon gained the confidence of the unsuspecting Selim: he then contrived to surround him with his own creatures, fomented cabals among the officers and soldiers of his guard, and at length assassinated the pasha, and arrested his son, whom he carried off, when the people of the city rose with indignation and compelled him to retreat. They were however obliged to ransom his prisoner for a large sum of money, which at this particular crisis materially contributed to the aggrandizement of the captor: for a new Derven-Pasha of Rumelie having been just appointed, Ali, by aid of large bribes, was nominated his lieutenant. In this post he determined to pursue his favourite maxim—"Get money, and that will procure all things." Instead of attempting to clear the district of banditti, he traded in licences, which he sold regularly to the kleftes, receiving not only a certain sum, but a share of the booty they might obtain. These worthies now pursued their course with such insolence and rapacity, that in a short time the country became impassable, and the Pasha being recalled, lost his head at Constantinople, for the fault of his lieu-

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tenant. Ali himself was obliged to expend a great share of his illicit gains to secure his indemnity; but so high did his character now stand for bravery and success, that in 1787, when war broke out between Turkey and the allied powers of Austria and Russia, he was invited to fill an important command in the army of the Grand Vizir, Usouf: under this general he behaved with great gallantry, and was considered one of the most promising officers in the Ottoman service.

An event however occurred in that campaign which led to the early development of his ambitious views. His favourite nephew Mahmoud, whom I have before alluded to, was taken prisoner by the Russians; and it is said, as I believe with truth, that in the negociations which ensued respecting his release between Ali and Potemkin, each of these ambitious men contrived partially to discover their particular projects of aggrandizement to the other. Certain it is that an interchange of presents took place, and a regular correspondence commenced, from which the one entertained strong hopes of being acknowledged sovereign of Epirus when the other should be seated on the throne of Constantinople. This correspondence which Potemkin held with Ali, as well as with many other Greek and Turkish chieftains, became known to Catherine, and probably precipitated his fate.

Our hero employed his wealth and credit so well at the Porte, that about the year 1783 he was appointed to the government of Triccala* in Thessaly, with the title of pasha of two tails. He does not appear to have resigned his office of Derven-bashi or lieutenant of the road-police, since he commenced at this time a fierce con-

* It has succeeded in site and almost in name to the ancient Tricca, concerning which see Strab. lib. ix. p. 437. Iliad β. 729.

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test with the Thessalian Armatoli, in which he destroyed many and drove others to the most rugged mountains, where they became kleftes. But as the terms Armatole and Kleft may not perhaps be understood by all my readers, though the knowledge of them is necessary to a right view of society under the government of European Turkey, as well as of the late contest for liberty in Greece, I shall here offer some remarks upon the origin and habits of those extraordinary classes to which they belong.

The Armatoli are by some considered as a remnant of the ancient Greek militia established under the Byzantine empire, to keep the roads clear and to guard the mountain passes: others with greater probability ascribe their existence to the determined opposition exhibited by a portion of the Greek population to the Turkish conquerors of Roumelia, and to the reprisals made by these armed bands upon the property of their invaders, or of those who had tamely submitted to their sway. Harassed by the constant incursions of these mountaineers, the Mahometans entered into treaty with them, permitting them to occupy their rugged districts and to enroll bodies of men called Armatoli for their defence: many independent spirits however refused all terms of accommodation, seceded from their countrymen, and betaking themselves to the most inaccessible parts of the country, continued to wage interminable war against their oppressors, under the not inglorious title of Kleftes. The whole of Roumelia became divided into Armatolicks, each district being under the superintendence of its own primate, or capitanos, whose office was hereditary: the ordinary members of this militia were termed *palikars;* and the first of these, or *protopalikar,* acted as lieutenant to the capitanos.

It was soon found by the Armatoli that the weakest party had placed too great confidence in the honour and good

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faith of the strongest, every advantage being taken against them, every species of deceit practised, and every effort made by the Derven-pashas and their lieutenants to extirpate them: in particular the Armatoli, who by the treaty of conciliation had pledged themselves to assist the public authorities for the preservation of tranquillity, were employed against their more independent countrymen: but as it too often happened that they themselves were subsequently attacked by the Turks, they resented the infraction of their rights, and retiring into more inaccessible districts augmented the ranks of the Kleftes: sometimes also, by desultory though constant warfare, they regained their possessions and re-assumed their former appellation: thus the terms Armatoli and Kleftes are often confounded or indiscriminately used. These classes of men, but especially the Kleftes, were hardy and enterprizing to a degree unknown among civilized nations; but though fierce as tigers in the contest, frequently exhibited traits of high-minded generosity; oftentimes protecting their more unfortunate and oppressed countrymen at the hazard of their lives, or parting with their own stores to relieve the wants of others: flying from the yoke of Ottoman fury to their rocks and mountains, they never submitted to enslave their souls by submission to the creed of Mahomet, like many apostates of the plains; and the traveller who demanded their hospitality, or the wretch who solicited their protection, ever met with succour from the Grecian Kleftes; above all they were noted for the respectful and exemplary conduct which they showed towards their female captives, so contrary to the vile practices of their opponents. When not engaged in war they generally amused themselves by firing at a mark, or by running, wrestling, leaping, and other martial exercises, acquiring thereby great vigour and activity of body: with a general

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contempt for the Greek clergy, whom they saw cringing to their Mussulman lords, they often united an enthusiastic spirit of piety, performing the holy ceremonies of religion amidst the wildest solitudes and the most imminent dangers; and the palikar who plundered a chapel or a votive offering was put to death with as little pity as if he had insulted a female captive. These are some of the principal traits of character which distinguished a race of men whom not all the efforts of the Ottoman power, even when exerted through the instrumentality of their most inveterate foe Ali Pasha, could subdue or exterminate. Thousands indeed were slaughtered in battle: many were subjected to death by unheard-of tortures: others submitted themselves, and augmented the best troops of their enemy—but a portion still remained in their fastnesses, to give life and spirit to that insurrection which has at length liberated the most interesting part of Greece from the despoiler's fangs.

The situation of Triccala was peculiarly adapted to Ali's views, as it commands the passage of merchandise from Ioannina to Constantinople; and whoever possesses this country can stop all supplies of corn from the fertile plains of Thessaly, upon which the pashalic of Ioannina frequently depends for the support of its population. Here then he planted himself at a time when anarchy and confusion reigned in the last mentioned city: the authority of its pasha, who had lately died, had for some time been almost nominal; its turbulent and powerful beys being in rebellion against him, as well as engaged in implacable quarrels among themselves. I have been assured by respectable people who remembered those times, that it was frequently unsafe for a person to stir out into the public streets: each head of a party had converted his house into a species of a fortress, from whence his ad-

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herents used to fire upon their opponents; the most atrocious murders were committed in open day, till the very bazar itself became almost deserted.

Ali employed all his agents to promote these dissensions and to increase the public distress. When he thought affairs ripe for his presence, he collected a number of troops, passed the chain of Pindus, and made his appearance on the plain of Dryscos to the N. of Ioannina. This manœuvre caused great consternation in the city: the beys, in imminent danger, stifled their enmity towards each other, joined their forces together, and advanced to meet the invader: in a great battle which was fought at the head of the lake, they were beaten and driven back into the city by Ali, who encamped before it with his victorious troops. Not being strong enough to attempt it by storm, he employed a surer method for success: he had already gained a number of adherents amongst the Greeks in the city, and in the district of Zagori: these by bribery and large promises he engaged to enter into his views and send a deputation to Constantinople to solicit for him the pashalic: they acted as he requested; but an opposite interest proved too strong, and they were made the bearers of an order to their principal to retire to his own government and disband his troops. One of the deputies most attached to his interest rode forward night and day, to give early information of the failure of their mission; and on this occasion Ali executed one of those strokes of policy which gave him such advantage over the imbecility of the Porte. After a short consultation, he requested his friend to rejoin the deputies, who had waited a few days on the road, and to proceed with them straight to Ioannina, when the imperial firman and its bearer had been so disposed of that they could not interrupt his plans. The beys, to whom its contents had been already intimated,

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advanced as far as the suburbs to meet the firman: it was produced and drawn out of its crimson case; when each reverently applied it to his forehead, in token of submission to its dictates. Being then opened, to the utter consternation of the assembly it announced Ali, pasha of Ioannina, and ordered instant submission to his authority.

The forgery was suspected by many, but some credited it; whilst others, by timely submission, sought to gain favour with the man who as they foresaw would be their ruler: in short, his partisans exerted themselves on all sides, the beys were dispirited, and while they were irresolute and undetermined, Ali entered the city amidst the acclamations of the populace: his chief enemies in the mean time sought their safety by flight, passing over the lake and taking refuge in the districts of Arta, Ætolia, and Acarnania.

Ali's first care was to calm the fears of all ranks: to the people he promised protection; to the beys who remained rich offices and plunder: his friends were amply recompensed, and his enemies reconciled by his frankness and engaging manners: in the mean time he put a strong garrison into the castron, and acquired possession of the pashalic before the imposture of the firman was discovered. It was then too late to dispossess him of his acquisition: his adherents increased daily, a numerous and respectable deputation, led by Signore Alexi's father, carried a petition to Constantinople, and seconding it with bribes to a large amount, ultimately prevailed in establishing his usurped dominion. Thus, according to custom, despotism succeeded to the turbulence of faction, and the people not unwillingly submitted to the change.

Soon afterwards Ali obtained from the Porte the office of Derven-Pasha of Rumelie, not unlike that of our ancient Lord of the Marches, which not only increased his

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revenue but gave him the means of creating an influence in various provinces of the empire. That proud family which had formerly rejected his alliance now gladly accepted it; and Ibrahim pasha of Berat affianced his three daughters to Ali's two sons and nephew, though he soon found the friendship of a traitor more dangerous than his arms.

Having thus established his interest on a firm footing as well in Constantinople as Albania, and wielding the resources of an extensive dominion, Ali Pasha began to act upon a larger scale, and to pursue his grand plan of consolidating an independent power in Epirus, a country which nature herself seems to have marked out for independence by the mountain barriers with which she has surrounded and protected it. The means which he resolved to take for the completion of this plan, were to amass treasures, to keep agents in pay at the Ottoman court, to infuse suspicion of other powers into the minds of the Divan, to render himself useful to whatever European state was most able to return his services, and finally to seize upon the property of his neighbours whenever and by whatever methods he could. In the execution of these measures, his rapacity was boundless, his penetration deep, his aggressions innumerable, his perfidy more than Punic, and his success for a time complete.

After the projects of Russia with regard to Greece had failed, and all confidence in that power was lost by the insensible and cruel conduct of its agents, Ali's enemies at Constantinople endeavoured to undermine his credit, by disclosing as much as they knew or suspected of his correspondence with Potemkin: fertile however in expedients, and fearful of a rupture with his sovereign, he found means to counteract these plots, and allay the coming storm, principally, as it is asserted, by the good

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offices of the French minister at the Porte, whom he contrived to engage in his interests. Being now secure in his most important position he soon found a pretext for quarrelling with his neighbour the Pasha of Arta, conquered his territories, and annexed them, as well as the whole of Acarnania, to his own dominions: thus he secured the free navigation of the Ambracian Gulf and gained possession of many valuable ports in those districts. His next step was to open a free and safe intercourse between Ioannina and his native territory: to this end he attacked and took possession of the strong post of Klissura, where the Aous or Voïussa enters the deep defile which was occupied by Philip in the first Macedonian war, and where he stopped the Roman legions, until the key of his position being betrayed to Flaminius by a shepherd of Charopus he was driven from this commanding situation and obliged to evacuate Epirus.* The seizure of Klissura was followed

* The Fauces Antigoneæ, or Stena Aoi. See Livy, lib. xxxii. c. 5. "Principio veris (Philippus) cum Athenagora omnia externa auxilia, quodque levis armaturæ erat, in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas, quæ ad Antigoniam Fauces sunt (Stena vocant Græci) misit. Ipse post paucis diebus graviore secutus agmine, quum situm omnem regionis aspexisset, maxime idoneum ad muniendum locum credidit esse præter amnem Aoum: is inter montes, quorum alterum Æropum, alterum Asnaum incolæ vocant, angusta valle fluit, iter exiguum super ripam præbens." The mountains forming the defile are now called, those to the north Trebechina and Mejourani, those to the south Melchiovo. It is about ten miles in length from Klissura (which from the remains of Cyclopéan masonry observable there I take to have been Antigonea) to the junction of the Aous with the river of Argyro-Castro, above Tepeleni. The precipices on each side are tremendous, being apparently a thousand feet in height. The positions of Philip and Athenagoras must have been about midway in the defile, as Flaminius, when he arrived at the Aous is said by Livy to have encamped at the distance of five miles from the Macedonians. (cap. 6.) Many persons have fixed upon Premeti, about twelve miles higher up the Aous, for Antigonea; but I am confirmed in my opinion of its being Klissura, by a passage of Polybius, who speaks of these straights as close to Antigonea: διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἀντιγόνειαν στενῶν. l. ii. c. 5.

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by the reduction of Premeti, Ostanitza and Konitza, all capitals of important districts, which secured the course of the Voïussa from its source in Pindus as far as Tepeleni.

We have now traced the march of this extraordinary personage by that imperfect light which his early annals afford, from his infancy to the time when he fixed his seat in the Great Despotate of Epirus. One would have thought that this success might have satisfied the ambition of an Albanian kleft! but ambition's path is deceitful as the mountain, which tempts the traveller's ascent to its false summit, and then exhibits to his view another equally precipitous and lofty, to which it served but as a base.

The remainder of his history, having become connected with European politics and important enough to engage the attention of his contemporaries, offers itself more readily to historic elucidation.

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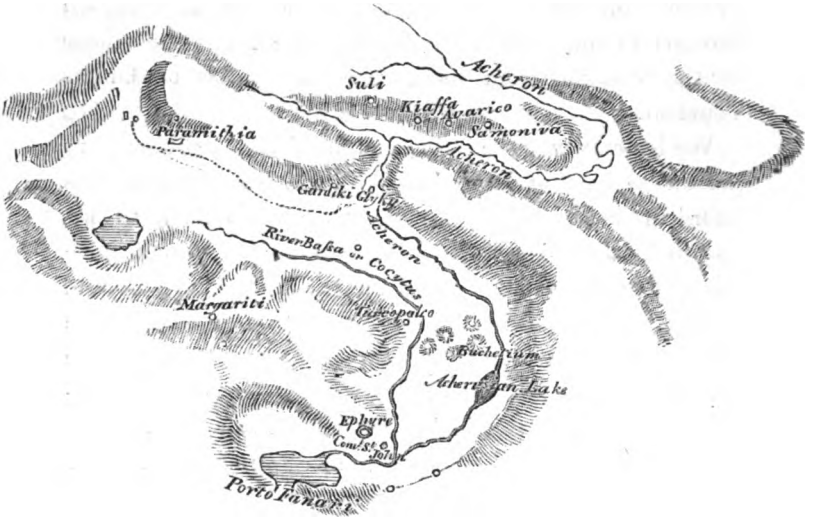

Plain of Paramithia and Course of the Acheron.

CHAPTER VI.

WHILST Ali was extending the limits of his sway towards the north, the southern districts of his dominions were subjected to the incursions of a clan, apparently contemptible for their numbers, but impregnable in their mountain-holds, and capable, by their daring courage and enthusiastic love of liberty, of attacking him in his capital, and alarming him in the very recesses of his harem. These were the Suliots; a people that sustained the character of ancient Greece, and assumed the spirit of its independent sons. Among them might be seen the finest forms produced from Nature's mould: exposed constantly to the sun and wind, their skin was of the colour of bronze; for being unprovided with tents, in all their expeditions the sky was their canopy and their own shaggy

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capotes their bed: the greater part were almost born soldiers, wearing arms from their very infancy; and of these they were passionately fond as they grew up: instead of the ataghan they used the sabre in their conflicts; and to this they generally had recourse after a very few volies: their bravery was so great and so well known, that a real Suliot commanded that high esteem which was conceded to the ancient Spartans; and other Greeks thought it an honour to serve under him, or to have him in their ranks. The abode of this people was like the dwelling of a race of genii, upon a kind of natural citadel, amidst the wild Cassopæan mountains, where the Acheron rolls its dark waters down a truly infernal chasm, amidst rocks and woods of deepest gloom. The high peaks of precipices bounding this mysterious glen were surmounted by fortified towers, whilst the paths leading to the impending heights above scarcely admitted two persons to walk abreast. During the worst eras of Grecian slavery, the flame burned bright upon this hill-altar of liberty; and its worshippers breathing a purer air, and excited as it were by those stupendous energies of nature which they constantly had in view, preserved their physical and moral strength unimpaired; not only defying tyranny, but pouring down from their rocky fastnesses over the plains of the oppressor, and carrying off that booty which they considered as lawful property. At Suli the rebellion was planned, under Lambro Canziani, to liberate Greece from the Ottoman yoke; and the conspirators had their headquarters in these impregnable fastnesses.

Four large villages constituted the principal seats of this independent clan, in a situation so singular, as probably to be unique.* They lay upon a fine plain at the

* The distance of Suli from Ioannina is 14 hours; from Prevesa 13½ from Arta 14; from Parga 8; from Margariti 6; from Paramithia 8.

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perpendicular height of near 2000 feet above the bed of the Acheron; a grand natural breast-work descended precipitously to the river; whilst behind them rose a towering chain of mountains, at once their ornament and defence. The Acheron, after passing through the valley of Dervitziana, first enters the Suliot chasm by the Gorge of Skouitias, so called from a small village of that name: a narrow path, which winds amidst dark woods upon the right bank, conducts the traveller in about two hours to a narrow cut across his path, called Klissura, admirably calculated to stop the progress of an enemy. This defile was commanded by a fort called Tichos, near to which was the first village of the Suliot republic, called Navarico or Avarico: from thence a gradual ascent led to the deserted site of Samoniva; beyond which lay Kiaffa, signifying a height, and lastly Suli, the capital of the tribe, which was generally styled Kako-Suli, like the *Κακοΐλιον* of Homer, from the difficulties it opposed to a conqueror. Near a spot where the mountain-path leaves the side of the Acheron to wind up precipices between Kiaffa and Kako-Suli, a conical hill overhangs the road, called Kunghi, on which stood the largest of the Suliot fortresses, named Aghia Paraskevì,* or Saint Friday. At the same spot another small river, flowing from the Paramithian mountains, joins the Acheron, which, descending down the romantic defile of Glykì, enters the great Paramithian plain, and empties itself, after flowing through the Acherusian lake, into the Ionian sea, near the ancient city of Cichyrus or Ephyre. (See the plan at the head of this chapter.)

Such was the situation of the Suliot republic: no ves-

* *Παρασκευὴ* and *Κυριακὴ*, i. e. Friday and Sunday, are among the common names given to the Greek girls.

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tiges of any ancient cities have been discovered within its boundaries, nor is it clear to what tribe of former ages they have succeeded, though the Selli of Homer offer the fairest claim to pre-occupation of the soil.* The date of the Suliot settlement here is referred by tradition to the middle of the 17th century, when some goat and swine-herds having led their animals to feed upon the heights of Kiaffa, were struck with the eligibility of the situation, and occupied it with their families: more probably these mountains afforded refuge to some of those Albanian tribes

* Homer certainly places the Selli somewhere in this neighbourhood, in the 16th book of the Iliad, l. 233.

Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικὲ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται, ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαεῦναι·

And these very Selli appear to have taken their name, or given it, to the river Acheron, the identical river of Suli, in very early times. See a passage in Homer's Catalogue, *v.* 166, where the poet says that Hercules carried off Astyoché out of the city of Ephyre, from the river Σελλήεις·

Τὴν ἄγεν' ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος·

Strabo, indeed, places Ephyre and this river in Elis, where I find no mention made of such by Pausanias or any other author: but the Scholiast intimates the probability of this being the Thesprotian Ephyre, which is frequently mentioned by Homer under this appellation, or that of Cichyrus: and Strabo himself, unconsciously enough, gives good reasons for agreeing with the Scholiast: for he says, that the expeditions of Hercules were frequent in this region, and that it was celebrated for poisons: now we know that Hercules was the friend and guest of Aidoneus or Pluto, king of the Molossi, who reigned in this neighbourhood, from whom he liberated his friend and companion Theseus; and Homer has particularly distinguished this Ephyre for its production of poison, making Ulysses go there for the very purpose of procuring it.

Ὤιχετο γὰρ κἀκεῖσε θοῇς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς
Φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρά οἱ εἴη
Ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας. Od. *α.* 260.

With regard to the names of Σελλοὶ and Σελλήεις, I know not whence they are derived; but it is probable that they may allude to some religious rites. Eustathius, in his Commentary upon Homer, observes, that wherever there was an Ephyre, there was also a river named Σελλήεις.

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which fled from Turkish despotism after the death of the valiant Scanderbeg.

As the population of this small colony increased, it attracted the attention of its neighbours, and sustained many wars with the beys of Paramithia and Margariti, as well as the pashas of Ioannina and Arta. In all these however it was defended by the inaccessible nature of its site, whilst the bravery of its citizens enabled it to wrest numerous possessions from the hands of its opponents, and to extend the limits of its original territory. Before their first war with Ali Pasha, the Suliots possessed sixty-six villages,* all conquered by their own arms. The citizens of the republic were classed in divisions called faras: each fara contained a certain number of families, and was commanded by its own chief or captain: when the inhabitants of these towns increased beyond the means of support, seven were selected out of their sixty-six tributary villages, to which they sent colonies of native Suliots, who were exempted from paying either forced contributions, or the regular tribute, which was a tenth of all produce.† The character of this people was warlike in the extreme; and martial exercises comprised almost the whole system of their education. Their chief amusements were the dance and song, the former of which contributed to increase their bodily strength, and the latter to feed their national enthusiasm: they were passionately attached to their country, which, in spite of

* Of these Kako-Suli contained 19 faras and 425 families.

Kiaffa	.	.	4	— and 60	—
Avarico	.	.	3	— and 55	—
Samoniva	.	.	3	— and 30	—

† Thus in the village called Tzicuri five faras were settled; in Pericati two; in Villa two; in Alsocori three; in Kondati one; in Gionala three; and in Tzepheleki two.

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traitors seduced by the vizir's gold, would probably have continued to defy his power, but for the pressure of political circumstances. They had a chosen band of one thousand palikars, all citizens of the four principal towns; but fifteen hundred more were embodied from the seven colonies and the other dependencies, during their contests with Ali. The plan of their warfare, as in ancient times, consisted more in skirmishes than pitched battles; in daring expeditions, sudden attacks, and quick retreats: great examples of heroic devotion were exhibited by individuals; and their harangues breathed the fire and spirit of antiquity. The women of this republic were scarcely inferior to the men in bravery, or less eager to share the perils of war. Troops of heroines attended upon the soldiers, to carry provisions and ammunition, to assist the wounded, and, if necessary, to engage in battle. The most celebrated of these amazons was Mosco, wife of Captain Tzavella, and mother of the gallant Foto, the Hector of this new Troy, whose name is still celebrated in many a Greek and Albanian song. Her exploits rival those of the heroine of Zaragossa.

The Suliots had no written law, but many customs handed down from time immemorial served to regulate their conduct: judicial affairs were generally referred to the captain of the fara, or in cases of difficulty to a council of chiefs, convened from the four towns, in Kako-Suli. To animate their men the more, the women had precedence at the wells and fountains, according to the character which their husbands bore for bravery; and if a woman had the misfortune to be wedded to a coward, she was obliged ignominiously to wait till the rest had filled their pitchers. It was found that men could brave the enemy sooner than the reproaches that were poured upon them at the return of their indignant spouses. The

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females here were held in such esteem that no man was allowed, under the severest penalties, to interfere in their quarrels, lest by accident a woman might be killed; and whoever committed such an act was put to death as a patricide, with the execrations of the citizens. They had an extraordinary custom in their wars of sending out a small body of troops against a superior force, and, on the contrary, a large body against a small one: in the first instance, they intimidated their foes, who knew they were prepared to conquer or to die; in the latter, they were able to secure more prisoners, and gain a greater ransom for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Like the ancient Spartans, they never inquired about the numbers of an enemy, but only where that enemy might be found.

Such was the republic with which Ali now prepared to engage: without its destruction he foresaw that all his future plans must fail; since the Suliots were not only the best soldiers in the ranks of his enemies, but were possessed of a stronghold in the very midst of his dominions, where they gave refuge to the discontented, and from whence they issued to ravage his territories whenever he was engaged in distant warfare. The preparations for his first expedition were made in 1792. He then assembled an army of about ten thousand men, all tried Albanian troops, giving out an intention of attacking the town of Argyro-Castro, the beys of which had been his inveterate enemies in the early stages of his career. Under this pretext he endeavoured to lull the Suliots into a fatal security, requesting their alliance and co-operation, with the offer of double pay and rewards proportionate to their acknowledged valour. The following is a translation of the letter which he wrote on this occasion to their two most celebrated captains, named Botzari and Tzavella.

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"My friends Captain Botzari and Captain Tzavella—I, Ali Pasha, salute you and kiss your eyes. Since I am well acquainted with your courage and spirit, it appears to me that I have great need of your assistance. Wherefore I beseech you take no other resolution when you receive my letter, but assemble together all your palikars and come to meet me, that I may march against my enemies. This is the very season and the time in which I need your help, and I expect to see the friendship and the love you bear me. Your pay shall be double that of my Albanians, for I know your valour is superior to theirs. As I shall not go to war before you arrive, I entreat you to come quickly. This, and farewel."

The Captains Botzari and Tzavella called a council of their countrymen and read to them this epistle; but very few were dupes of its artifice and insincerity. They returned for answer that their warriors were necessary at home for the defence of their country, but being anxious to oblige his Highness and secure his friendship, they had given Captain Tzavella permission to lead out seventy palikars and attend him to victory.

Ali, as soon as he received this force, that he might conceal his designs from all suspicion, began his march in the direction of Argyro-Castro; but had scarcely proceeded twenty miles before he halted and encamped. On such occasions it was a custom with the Suliots to exercise themselves in running, leaping, wrestling, and other manly sports; for which purpose, they had now unsuspectingly laid aside their arms, when orders were suddenly given to arrest them. All were immediately seized and fettered, except three; two of whom snatching up their weapons fought desperately till they fell covered

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with wounds; whilst the other, a man remarkably swift of foot, escaped as the Greek proverb says, "with his soul in his teeth,"* unhurt by a thousand shots fired after him: having swum over the river Kalamas, he arrived at Suli in time to put his countrymen upon their guard.

In fact, the pasha made his appearance in their district the very day after: but finding the Suliots fully prepared to give him a warm reception, he deferred his attack until he could try the effect of artifice and negotiation. Having ordered Captain Tzavella to be brought into his presence, he promised him the most ample rewards upon condition of his procuring the submission of the republicans, with the horrible alternative of being flayed alive if they continued obstinate in their opposition. "Release me from my fetters then," said Tzavella, "for my countrymen will never submit whilst I am in your power." Ali however, too wary to let his prey escape him thus, demanded what security he would give for his return if unsuccessful. "My only son Foto, who is a thousand times dearer to me, and more valuable to his country, than my own life." Upon these conditions Tzavella was released, and an equal number of Albanians and Suliots met at the bottom of the mountain to exchange the prisoners.

As soon as the chief appeared in Suli he convoked a council of the other captains; explained the conduct and motives of the pasha; assured them that they had nothing to hope from his promises or his clemency; and exhorted them to prepare for a vigorous defence, without any concern for him or his family, every member of which would feel a pride in sacrificing his life for the safety of

* It expresses the greatest possible risk: μέ τὴν ψυχὴν 'στὰ 'δόντια.

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his country. In the mean time he contrived to gain delay for the purpose of defence, by protracting negotiations with the pasha; and not before Suli was armed at all points did he transmit the following letter to the tyrant.

"Ali Pasha, I rejoice that I have deceived a deceiver. I am here to defend my country against a robber. My son is doomed to death, but I will desperately avenge him before I die. Some Turks, like yourself, will say that I am a merciless father to sacrifice my child for my own liberation. I answer, that if you had taken the mountain you would have massacred my son with all my family and my countrymen: in that case I could not have revenged his death. If we are victorious, I shall have other children; for my wife is young: if my boy be not willing, young as he is, to sacrifice himself for his country, he is not worthy to live or to be acknowledged as a child of mine; nor ought he to be named as a worthy son of Greece, unless he can meet death with fortitude. Advance then, thou traitor; I am impatient for revenge; I, your sworn enemy,

"CAPTAIN LAMBRO TZAVELLA."

The pasha, as it may be supposed, was indignant at this answer and the failure of his insidious schemes: he did not however put the boy to death, but sent him to Ioannina, to be confined there with the rest of his countrymen. Being brought into the presence of Ali's chief minister Mahomet Effendi, and his son Vely, they put his constancy to the proof by informing him that they had received orders to roast him alive. "Have you?" replied the undaunted youth. "Then if my father conquers he will serve you the same." His heroic answer pleased Vely, who was not of a cruel dis-

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position, and Foto was merely confined in one of the monasteries of the island.

In the mean time Ali prepared to attack Suli by force of arms; though an occurrence had well nigh taken place which would have rid the Suliots at once of this dangerous enemy. A band of those brave mountaineers, to the number of two hundred, having learned that the Pasha was encamped with his body-guard at some little distance from his main army, marched out with a firm determination to take him, alive or dead; but Ali was informed of the plot, and removed his head-quarters to a place of safety: the discovery however animated his fury to such a pitch that he put his troops immediately in motion.

The Suliots were obliged to retreat before superior numbers, from their southern frontiers in the district towards Arta and Prevesa. The Turks pursued them with great spirit down the valley of the Acheron, but received a check at the pass of Klissura, being met with such volleys of musketry from the fortress of Tichos, as well as from behind the rocks and precipices, that the passage became nearly choked up by their dead bodies. The pasha, who had taken his station on one of the opposite mountains called Bogoritza, observed a confusion among his troops, and sent to inquire the cause; which excited his fury to such a pitch that he ordered the tower to be taken at any expence, offering various rewards, and one of five hundred purses to that man who should first enter Kako-Suli. The Albanians fought like lions, in sight of their chief and upon the strength of his promises; but the pass of Thermopylæ itself could not have been more bravely defended than was Klissura: the gallant Suliots had also this advantage on their side, that they fought under cover of the rocks, huge fragments of which

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were hurled down upon their assailants by the very women and children. The Albanians now fell in such numbers that the dead bodies formed, as it were, a wall between the combatants, and choked up the pass: but the ammunition of the Suliots at length began to fail, their fire slackened, and fresh troops of their enemies constantly succeeding, they retired towards Kiaffa. The Turks not waiting to carry the fortress of Tichos, left it in their rear, and rushed on; whilst the pasha, viewing all these actions from his position through a telescope, was already in imagination master of the capital. In this attack Pronio Agà of Paramithia, a man of great courage and gigantic stature, who was attended to the war by several of his sons, all noted warriors, highly distinguished himself against the Suliots: so also did Hassan Zapari, the most powerful bey of Margariti, a large Turkish town in the district of Tzamouria. Kiaffa was soon found to be untenable; it was therefore deserted by the inhabitants, who took refuge in their inaccessible mountains, whilst the troops of the republic, followed by the pasha's army, retreated towards Kako-Suli. The great fort upon Kunghi, which commanded the Tripa, a deep chasm between Kiaffa and the capital, was so thinly garrisoned as to be unable to intercept the pursuers; and Suli would have been lost, but for an act of female valour which well deserves comparison with that of Telesilla and her Argives. The heroine Mosco, having armed the other warriors of her own sex, rushed out of the town sword in hand; stopped the retreat of husbands and brethren; headed them in a valiant attack upon the assailants already breathless by their advance up these steep acclivities; and in a moment turned the tide of war. The Albanians in their turn retreated and fled; the garrison on Kunghi, which had received a number of fugitives,

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made a sally; heaps of stones, piled ready upon the edges of the precipices, were rolled down upon the flying foe, who were again intercepted and almost annihilated at the foot of Tichos: hundreds of dead bodies were precipitated into the bed of the Acheron, whose blood-stained torrent was encumbered with the slain.

Arrived at this tower Mosco discovered the body of her favourite nephew, a youth of great promise, who had been killed in the first attack of the position. Animated with a desire of vengeance, she kissed the pale lips of the corpse, and cried out, "Since I have not arrived in time to save thy life, I will yet avenge thy death;" then calling on the Suliots to follow her example, she led them like a tigress that has lost her whelps, against the troops who remained about the pasha in the upper regions of the valley. These being dispirited and terrified by the fate of their companions, took immediately to flight, and were pursued by the victorious Suliots as far as the village of Vareatis, within seven hours of Ioannina: they lost all their baggage, ammunition, and arms, which were thrown away in the flight, besides an immense number of prisoners, whose ransom served to enrich the conquerors. Ali himself is said to have killed two horses in his precipitate escape; and when he arrived at his capital, he shut himself up in his harem for several days, where he admitted no one to his presence except a few of his most confidential friends.*

Scarcely a thousand men returned from this expedition with their arms: about six thousand were slain or taken prisoners, and the other three thousand having been dispersed over the woods and mountains, did not assemble together at Ioannina before the expiration of several

* This slaughter occurred July 20, 1792.

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weeks. Ali having now given up the conquest of Suli as hopeless for the present, entered into negotiation with its citizens, and concluded a peace upon the condition of ceding to them possession of their acquired territory as far as Dervitzianà, of restoring the seventy prisoners, together with Tzavella's son, and of paying a large sum as a ransom for his captive troops. The beys of Paramithia and Margariti, who had been induced by his wiles to assist in this war, made a separate treaty, by which they bound themselves in future to become allies, instead of enemies, to the republic.

About this time the political horizon became darkened with the harbingers of those storms and tempests that so long convulsed every state in Europe. French revolutionists were busy around Ali; great hopes were held out to make him throw off the yoke of obedience to the Porte, and assume the independent sovereignty of Epirus; and it is supposed that one of his chief reasons for attacking Suli was, that he might, in case of revolt, have established himself in so impregnable a fortress. Failing however in his projects, he became wary of his new friends, and was too crafty to commit himself with his own government, before he had sufficiently consolidated his power: his great aim was to dispossess the Venetians of their settlements upon the coast; for he plainly saw that whilst these afforded a retreat to the discontented who fled from his government, as well as arms and ammunition to his enemies, he never could raise that fabric of which he had already laid the foundation: but as yet he had neither means nor opportunity; many powerful independent clans were interposed between them and his territories; he had no marine, nor the means of forming one; he had no ports, except one for small craft at Salagora on the gulf of Arta; neither had he the power of

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protecting the small share of commerce which he possessed; for the politic Venetians had procured a clause to be inserted in their treaty with the Porte, *that no subject of that state should build a fort within a mile of the Ionian coast, nor sail with any armed vessel through the channel of Corfu.* In this state of things he armed himself, as he knew well how to do upon occasion, with patience: his penetrating mind could clearly foresee the future disunion of political engagements and the distraction of foreign powers: so he determined to wait for the appointed time; and instead of acting in opposition to his government, to use it as the chief instrument of his aggrandizement; making his own acts of usurpation to appear like its equitable claims or fair reprisals.

In the mean time he turned his attention to the improvement of his capital, in which he laid the foundations of the new fort round the palace of Litaritza, to the construction of roads for the greater facility of internal commerce, to the extirpation of robbers who at this time infested all parts of the country, to the formation of alliances with neighbouring chiefs, and most particularly to the accumulation of wealth; well knowing the efficacy of that powerful engine, which is not unaptly termed the sinews of war: his subjects however had no great reason to bless the ambitious designs of their ruler, being ground down by his oppressive avanias, and put to great inconvenience by the diminution of the circulating medium: at present however he did not think proper to show fully that severity of character which was afterwards displayed in so many acts of consummate cruelty.

At this time revolutionary convulsions began to agitate the whole continent of Europe, and possessions to change their masters. In 1797 Ali saw the Venetians driven from the Ionian islands; whilst the French flag waved upon

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the shores of Epirus:* this was the moment for which he had anxiously waited. Suspecting that the Great Republic entertained views against the tottering power of Turkey, which political circumstances at this time tended strongly to promote, he began to intrigue with its victorious commander, and accordingly sent a confidential agent to Bonaparte's head quarters in the north of Italy. The French general, who had received accurate information respecting the character of the Albanian chieftain, entered with alacrity into negociations, and proposed to make use of him as a powerful instrument in the promotion of his designs. Thus these two great and crafty personages were now matched; each anxious to deceive the other and turn him to his own particular advantage: but the benefits which Ali received from this alliance were certain and immediate: he gained permission to sail with his flotilla through the Corfiote channel, in spite of former treaties; he seized upon the two independent towns of Aghio Vasili and Nivitza, having massacred the poor inhabitants in church whilst they were celebrating the festival of our Lord's resurrection; and being thus established upon the sea coast opposite Corfu, in the midst of the most formidable, wealthy, and independent tribes of Albania, was ready to take every advantage that futurity might hold forth: in fact he very soon gained possession of the important fishery at Santa Quaranta, as well as the large and excellent harbour of Porto Palermo, where he afterwards built a large fort; and thus he drew, as it were, a cordon round the Pashalic of Delvino: at the same time his agents made a merit of these acts at Constantinople, by representing them as done solely for the advantage of

* The Ionian isles, together with the continental towns of Prevesa, Vonizza, Butrinto, Parga, and Gomenizza, were placed under the dominion of the French Republic by the treaty of Campo Formio.

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the Porte and the subjugation of infidels: Ali himself confirmed their report by his massacres of defenceless Christians, destruction of their towns, and alienation of their property: he also paid tribute to the Sultan for every place he conquered, and held it under an acknowledged feudal tenure. Thus he acquired fame and favour with his government, and in the dispatches which he received from Constantinople, he was honoured with the surname or title of *Aslan*, "The Lion."

Still further to ingratiate himself with his sovereign, he headed his contingent of Albanian troops, joined the Grand Vizir in his campaign against the rebel Paswan Oglou, and highly distinguished himself in the unsuccessful attack of Vidin. An anecdote is related of him at this period which clearly shows the line of conduct he had resolved to pursue with regard to his flattering but insidious court. The Grand Vizir, under pretence of bestowing public approbation upon his services, requested his attendance in full divan. Ali, conscious how much more he merited the bowstring than half the victims upon whom that punishment has fallen, went boldly; but surrounded the vizir's tent with six thousand faithful Arnaouts: as might be expected, his reception was courteous, but the conference was short. Soon after this event he received intelligence of the invasion of Egypt, and the probable rupture between France and Turkey. Ever anxious to turn the course of events to his own advantage, and conjecturing that another transfer of the Ionian islands might possibly take place, he returned in great haste to Ioannina, leaving his eldest son Mouchtar in command of his troops. As was foreseen, the Porte declared war against the French republic, and a combined armament of the Russians and Turks was prepared to wrest the seven islands from a power which had shown

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evident intentions of making this a focus from whence European Turkey might be attacked: Ali however, before he took part against his French allies, was anxious to know in what state of defence the Ionian government stood, and whether it was capable of resisting the force about to be employed against it; for this purpose, under pretence of giving some important information to the commandant of Corfu, he requested a conference with the Adjutant General Rosa; naming him because he had resided for a long time at Ioannina, had married a wife in that city, and was a personal acquaintance. The place of conference was at a small dogana, or custom-house, near the town of Philates: having there gained from the general all the information possible by the most insinuating address, he extorted by tortures a declaration of the defenceless state of the French in the islands; after which he dispatched him to Constantinople, under plea of his being a spy sent to excite a revolt among the Albanians. Soon after his arrival Rosa died in consequence of this ill treatment: but the information which Ali had thus gained decided his political conduct: pretending a vehement zeal for the good of his country and the honour of the crescent, he offered a cordial co-operation with the allies, by undertaking the reduction of the ex-Venetian towns upon the continent, and his offer was unfortunately accepted.

The three great powers at this time engaged in active operations against France, were England, Russia, and Turkey. The plan pursued by them in the Ionian Sea deviated a little from its original destination. It was at first resolved that Russia and Turkey should act together in Egypt, and that England should take upon herself alone the task of expelling the French from their Septinsular possessions; in consequence of which arrangement

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instructions were sent out to Lord Nelson to dispatch a division of his fleet for this service under the command of the gallant Sir Sidney Smith. Proclamations were issued by his lordship, inviting the islanders to take up arms in vindication of their rights and liberty, whilst a strong exhortation to the same effect was procured from the Patriarch of Constantinople, and extensively circulated. The expedition was on the point of sailing, when the scheme was disconcerted by the cunning policy of one of the confederates. The Russians ever on the alert to seize any opportunity of distinguishing themselves on this theatre, and of amalgamating themselves with the cause of Greece, waited only till they had obtained a passage through the straits of the Dardanelles, before they declared their intention of sailing immediately for the Ionian Isles instead of Egypt; and this they did under pretext of many strong invitations sent to them by the inhabitants, who desired liberation and protection at the hands of a nation which professed the same religious faith as themselves: but that it was only a pretext, appeared evident from the circumstance, that greatest part of their crews and land forces in the expedition, both officers and men, were composed of Greeks. It was however now too late for the other allies to raise objections and hazard a rupture. The English squadron was cheerfully dispatched to the shores of Egypt, since our interests were much more concerned in that quarter; and the Porte, though duped, determined to yield with a good grace, and to accompany the Russian fleet with a portion of its own, though they sent the greatest part to co-operate with the British admiral.

Long before the arrival of the allied fleets in these seas, Ali who had his own interests alone in view, determined to commence operations. I have before mentioned that the strongest and most advantageous of all the ex-Venetian

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towns upon his coast was Prevesa; a city which became the key of his marine, the Portsmouth of Albania. To prepare this place for an easy surrender he had long employed all his talents, craft, and ingenuity; the principal agents in his secret treacheries were, shame to say it! a Christian bishop, and Captain Botzari, that distinguished Suliot whom we have before seen fighting bravely on the side of liberty and honour! By the first of these instruments he sowed dissensions among the Prevesans and gained over with deceitful promises a large party to his interests, persuading them that their own good and the destruction of the French were his only objects: by the second he procured a free passage for his troops, all of whom might have been intercepted and cut to pieces in the dangerous defiles of the Cassopæan mountains. If indeed the Suliots had taken advantage of this opportunity, when Ali was engaged with Prevesa and the regular troops of France, they might have crushed that viper from whose deadly fangs they have since suffered so grievously.

The detention of one of his brigs sailing into the gulf of Arta, unless the story, as some believe, was forged for the purpose, gave the pasha a nominal pretext for attacking his former allies. Rapid in execution when his design was formed, he instantly put his army, consisting of five thousand men, in motion, having given the command to his son Mouchtar: the unfortunate Prevesans had scarcely time to send their families and moveable property to the islands; while many, discrediting the report of his approach, retained them unfortunately at home. General Salsette however had better information, and summoned the principal citizens to consider the best measures of defence: at this council it was determined, under the influence of ignorance and treachery, to throw up works and defend the Isthmus of Nicopolis, over which the Alba-

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nians had to march in their approach to Prevesa. Unfortunately the engineer officer, who had the direction of the works, died within a few days of their commencement; and scarcely was there time left to throw up two weak redoubts, before the pasha's troops covered the range of hills that rises to the north of Nicopolis.

Expedition was the very soul of Ali's warfare; having fixed his tent upon an eminence, where he could see all operations, and where that of Augustus probably stood before an action of much greater importance in the affairs of the world, he gave orders for the attack of the French and Prevesans in their position. The Albanian infantry, setting up the yell of war, poured down from the heights upon their intimidated foes, whilst Mouchtar charged the French troops, in one of the redoubts, at the head of his cavalry: these latter capitulated after an honourable resistance; but the wretched Prevesans were soon routed and driven precipitately towards the city: it was entered at the same moment by pursuers and pursued, and given up to all the horrors that could proceed from a savage and infuriated soldiery, during this and the succeeding day.* Whatever excuse Ali might have made for this gratification of vengeance, in the impossibility of restraining his soldiers, his most zealous partisans would find it difficult to frame one for the inhuman act which followed it. On the third day after the victory, his Episcopal ally undertook a mission to Vonizza, which lies in a beautiful recess of the Ambracian Gulf, whose inhabitants he persuaded to submit to the pasha, and to cut off the heads of four Frenchmen who lay sick in the hospital: with this bloody present he was

* Had Prevesa been defended under its own walls, such a check might have been given to Ali as would have induced many places to revolt against him; at any rate time might thus have been given for the succours to arrive which were actually on their way from Santa Maura.

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returning to his master, when he found at the other side of the bay, opposite Prevesa, a multitude of poor wretches who had escaped from the slaughter and were hiding themselves, half-naked and famished, among the bushes: the unfortunate creatures crowded round him and entreated his good offices with Ali, which he promised; giving them assurance of success, and persuading them to return with him to Prevesa. On their arrival however at that city, they were, in spite of promises and assurances, thrown into prison by the inexorable Pasha, and next day transported, with two hundred more victims, across the gulf to the custom-house of Salagora, there to suffer death in cold blood by the hands of an executioner;† the only criminal act imputed to them being their union with the French in opposing his occupation of their city. A singular instance of self-command and presence of mind, connected with this massacre, is recorded.

One Gerasimo Sanguinazzo, a native of Ithaca, happening at this time to reside at Santa Maura, and being informed that his brother and cousin, inhabitants of Prevesa, had been included in the number of those victims, collected a considerable sum on his own responsibility, and in a swift vessel set out for Prevesa: there throwing himself at the feet of the pasha and offering him the money as a ransom, he procured a pardon from the tyrant, who, in his own mind, was assured that his victims were beyond the reach of human mercy. Nevertheless an order was signed for their release, and Gerasimo departed with all possible

† It is but justice to the bishop to say that this massacre, which he little expected, lay so heavy on his mind, that he took advantage of a mission upon which he was soon after sent by Ali to Corfu, to desert his patron and his native country; and he has since shown himself one of the most patriotic and energetic characters amongst all who laboured for the liberation of Greece. He was one of the first organizers of the celebrated Hetæria.

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speed. Arrived at the place of death, he found, as the pasha had expected, that the work was nearly complete; and the ghastly heads of those who had been so dear to him lay weltering, with 300 others, in a pool of blood: about ten of the unfortunate Prevesans however were still alive and awaiting their doom; for the wrists of the executioner, a negro of gigantic size, were so swollen by his exertions that he had much difficulty in performing his bloody office. With admirable promptitude and presence of mind Gerasimo stept forward, presented his bouyourdee to the officer of the guard, and claimed two of those persons, whom he pointed out, for his brother and his cousin: they were delivered to him on the spot, and carried off in safety.

About this time Lord Nelson, who was cruising in the Ionian Sea, sent an officer to compliment Ali on his capture of Prevesa, and to apologize that he did not personally pay a visit to "the hero of Epirus."

Santa Maura was soon afterwards in imminent danger from the designs of the Pasha, but was saved by one of those surprising incidents which are beyond all human calculation. While the fleet of the Russians, who were as dilatory in their movements as Ali was expeditious, made a long delay about the islands of Cerigo and Zante, he suddenly appeared upon the opposite strand of Playa with all his army, summoning the city to surrender, and threatening to treat it like Prevesa in case it should provoke his attack. Fear co-operating with dissensions among the citizens, induced many of them to promote his wishes, and the French garrison with great difficulty prevented a revolt: in the mean time Giovanni Vlassopulo, a Greek captain in the Russian service, having been dispatched by Admiral Uczakoff in a swift sailing vessel to arrest the small French garrison of Ithaca, accidentally heard of the

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dangers to which Santa Maura was exposed: as soon therefore as he had executed his commission, instead of returning to the fleet, he set sail in a contrary direction, and arrived just in time to intercept Ali's flotilla, which had captured many boats full of miserable Prevesans, endeavouring to make their escape to the islands. With prompt decision he ran alongside the commandant's vessel, threw himself on board in his Russian uniform, and by an interpreter commanded the release of all the boats, with the restoration of their property, under threats of the Russian admiral's displeasure. The commandant, taken by surprise, complied instantly with these orders, and Vlassopulo accompanied the fugitives to a place of safety: after this he hastened to Santa Maura, and stopped the Pasha's operations by a similar manœuvre, while he was engaged in the very act of stipulating with the inhabitants for an unconditional surrender. No failure in his schemes ever annoyed Ali so much as this: he always continued to think, or pretended to think, that he had an undoubted right to the possession of that island; and I know some persons to whom he declared, that he kept an agreement of surrender signed by its inhabitants next his heart, and that he would keep it there till his dying hour.

The place to which the pasha turned his views for consolation in his disappointment was Parga, a name well known to most of my readers. He had written a letter to the primates of this place, immediately after the storming of Prevesa, demanding submission to his authority; but receiving no answer he dispatched a second, to which the Parghiotes returned a firm and spirited reply, rejecting his overtures, and despising his threats: they moreover entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with the Suliots, who had by this time seen their folly in trusting to so deceitful an enemy, ever most dangerous when

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apparently most pacific. In the mean time the islands had all fallen before the combined forces of Russia and Turkey; and Ali, foiled in his attempts upon Parga, carried the smaller towns of Gomenitza and Butrinto, at which latter place the French garrison, as it retired, blew up the fort. During the siege of Corfu a Turkish pirate who had captured six French officers belonging to the army of Egypt fell into his hands: these prisoners he conveyed immediately to Ioannina, and profited by their skill in the establishment of a military school; Colonel Charbonnel being placed at the head of the ordinance department.

In March 1800, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the independence of the Ionian republic was guaranteed, under protection of the former power, upon payment of an annual tribute of 75,000 piastres to the Ottoman Porte: but the continental dependencies were all annexed to the dominions of the Sultan, except Parga; whose citizens, in spite of leagues and treaties, continued to preserve their freedom, in the spirited determination to fall only under the ruins of their citadel. The following are the terms which tended to lighten the yoke of servitude imposed upon the three other cities.

That the same privileges relating to religious worship, and the administration of justice, which prevail in Moldavia and Valachia, shall be preserved to them. That no Mahometan shall be allowed to settle or acquire property in them, but it shall be lawful to establish in them a governor, who must absolutely be of the Mahometan religion. That the inhabitants shall have free intercourse with the islands, permission to rebuild their churches, construct new ones, and ring their bells without any interruption. That the Porte shall exact a moderate tribute from the rayahs of these places, not exceeding that which

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was paid to the Venetian republic; and in consideration of the calamities they have suffered, no tribute at all shall be demanded for the two first years after the signature of this convention.

This destiny at first sight may not appear a very hard one; but in fact it was soon felt otherwise; for it opened a door, as might have been foreseen, to all the enormities which have since ensued, in the solemn transfer of Christian states to an infidel power that respects neither oaths nor treaties, when made with the professors of a different faith. The advantages gained by Turkey were strongly suspected to have been procured by bribery; and these suspicions were not a little strengthened by the dismissal of the Russian envoy from the councils of the emperor; indeed it is thought that he would have refused to ratify the treaty, had he not been alarmed at the vast preparations making by England at this time for the expedition against Copenhagen, and perceived that it was his interest to caress the Porte. The old Count Capo d' Istria, chief deputy from the islands to Constantinople, was also believed to have had too great a share in these disgraceful transactions; and he was looked upon with such an evil eye on this account in his native place, that when the rebellion broke out in 1803 at Corfu, his life would have been sacrificed to the popular indignation, and his house burnt to the ground, but for the intercession of the British resident, who saved both.

Ali was now obliged to withdraw his troops from these continental dependencies; but he conceived a hatred on that account against the Russians, the flame of which was never extinguished in his bosom: this was not a little augmented by Admiral Uczakoff, who procured the restoration of Delvino to Mustafà its former ruler, from whom it had been taken by the Porte and given to Ali. This ambitious chieftain, however, was now gratified by the

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public thanks of his sovereign for his eminent services, by a present of the Kelich-Caftan, a superb pelisse of ermine, and a sword decorated with brilliants: to complete his elevation, he was made Rumelie-Vasilee, or viceroy of Rumelia, an office which confers upon its bearer the title of Vizir. His residence was now fixed for a time at Monastir, a large city to the west of the Lake of Ochrida; which unfortunate place he pillaged in the most scandalous manner, levying heavy contributions upon the inhabitants, and carrying away even their implements of household furniture, which he sent to his stores in Ioannina and Tepeleni. Amongst the plunder, as I was informed, were twelve beautiful busts of bronze, eleven of which have been barbarously melted down; but the twelfth was fortunately rescued, and is now in England. Ali at that time was no connoisseur in the fine arts.

At the place of his birth he built a fine seraglio, with an immense tower, wherein he deposited his wealth, keeping the keys in his own possession. Those treasures, upon which he placed his great reliance for future success, were augmented by the most rigorous and cruel avanias upon every district over which his authority extended: his extortions indeed were so excessive that if he had held his office long, all this part of European Turkey would probably have risen in rebellion.

Upon his return to Ioannina he determined to recommence operations against the Suliots, several of whose chief families had proved accessible to his arts and bribery. Tzavella had been dead some years, but the glory of his race was upheld by young Foto, who, under his mother the heroine Mosco, had grown up into the most perfect palikar that modern Greece could boast; distinguishing himself not more by his signal acts of courage, his success in audacious enterprises, his strength

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of body and Achillean swiftness of foot, his expertness at the mark, and all other qualities admired by a rude and warlike people, than by his sagacity, acuteness, and generosity of disposition; above all, by his honour and good faith, in which he may put to shame many heroes of more polished nations.

Ali's resolution to subdue Suli was not a little strengthened by its intimate connexion with Parga and Corfu, which afforded means to the Russians for sowing dissensions in his states, and dispersing arms and ammunition among his enemies. His principal reliance was upon the exertions of the traitor Botzari and his fara, which had been corrupted through his influence: this man had greatly distinguished himself in the former war, and from his age and experience, was looked upon by his countrymen as head of the republic; but as the terror of the Suliot name was great, and the remembrance of former defeats not yet obliterated from the minds of his Albanian followers, Ali thought it advisable to interest them, if possible, by some stronger motives than those of conquest or revenge: to this end he convoked an assembly of agàs and beys, his allies in the ensuing war. When they were met together in the castron, he produced the Koran and a venerable sheik, who undertook to interpret several of its obscure passages as prophetical of the present state of Albania, and indicating their success in the approaching contest: they were exhorted to enter upon it with that zeal which distinguished the first Ottoman conquerors, whilst the rewards of victory and the glories of martyrdom were placed before their eyes in glowing colours.

"Come, then, my agàs," said the Vizir, rising up from his seat, "as many as are true and faithful followers of the Prophet, and wish to preserve both life and property, let us swear a solemn oath, invoking the name of

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Mahomet, that nothing but death shall divert us from warring upon Suli, until that haughty republic fall beneath our arms." The assembly, urged more by fear of the vizir than by faith in his prophecies, bowed the head in token of compliance, and took the oath which he required.

Ali now lost no time in collecting his troops, to the number of about eighteen thousand men. Having spread abroad various reports, first that he intended to lead them against Corfu, next against the French in Egypt, and lastly against Santa Maura, he marched on a sudden against Suli, took and plundered several of its dependencies, and occupied every pass leading to its strongholds. The people were taken in a great measure unprepared, having been deceived by the artifices of Botzari, who had for some time studiously kept his fellow-citizens in ignorance of Ali's views, converting the revenues of the republic to the use of himself and his friends, and neglecting to purchase stores and ammunition with the money sent for that purpose from Russia: on the appearance of the enemy at the foot of the mountain this traitor deserted, with all the men of his fara, to the Vizir, whom he buoyed up with hopes that Suli would surrender on the first attack. The event proved how little he and his employer knew what the unconquerable spirit of liberty is able to effect. The Suliots, though deserted, did not despair: they convoked a council; they animated each other by the heroic deeds of their ancestors; and determined, that as they had hitherto existed in freedom, they would endure every extremity before they submitted to the yoke.

The principal leaders named in this war were Foto Tzavella, Dimo Zerva, Diamante Zerva, Giovanni Zerva, Dimo Draco, Cuzzonica, Giorgio Calespera, Kitzo Pandasi,

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Giannachi Sefo, Anastasio Cascari, and some others, besides the amazon Mosco, and Samuel the caloyer or monk, a man of wild enthusiastic character, who ran about animating the citizens, with a bible in one hand and a sword in the other, cutting off heads and explaining prophecies; but whose courage and patriotism were more conspicuous than his prudence and discretion. The number of Suliots enrolled for the defence of their country did not exceed at any time three thousand men.

The army of the vizir marched from the district of Luro along the Ionian shore, and some skirmishing took place in the region of ancient Acherusia. The Suliots retreated before superior numbers, and the Albanians, setting up the yell of war, endeavoured in the pursuit to penetrate the great Acherontian chasm of Glyky: here however they met with a determined resistance; their advance was overwhelmed with huge stones from the overhanging precipices, and thousands of unerring musket balls issued from behind rocks which screened the marksmen from view. Whilst the contest on this side was hottest, a large body of three thousand troops under the vizir's selictar, endeavoured to pour down upon the rear of the Suliots from the mountain Bogoritza, where they had lain in ambuscade. These were met by Foto Tzavella with about two hundred of his bravest palikars and put to rout with great slaughter: Ali then gave orders for a retreat, having lost about five hundred of his men, though the whole loss of his enemies did not exceed twenty.* In his disappointment he reproached Captain Botzari with bringing false intelligence and raising delusive hopes, and com-

* It is scarcely possible to conceive how the loss on each side could be so disproportionate, nor did I believe it myself until I saw the scenes of action, where numbers must have created confusion instead of advantage, and where the party attacked had such a superiority from its power of concealment.

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manded him to give a proof of sincerity and devotion to the cause by heading his party of traitors against their valiant countrymen. Botzari, whose life or death depended upon a nod or a breath, dare not refuse, although he had but little heart for the service. Being well acquainted with the passes of his native hills he led his band over the great summit called Raithovuni,* with the intent of falling upon Kiaffa and Kako-Suli by surprise, whilst the troops of the vizir advanced to draw off the enemy's attention. The enterprise however entirely failed: the Suliots were apprized of his approach; and while their main body kept Ali from penetrating the ravines, a small division met the traitors in their descent, put the greatest part of them to the sword, and drove the rest, with their infamous captain, fairly off their territories. This wretch died of grief and disappointment about five months after his defeat, an object of scorn and detestation to all parties; though some report that he hastened his end by poison: several skirmishes ensued after this affair, in which the Suliots were invariably successful.

In the mean time the ancient spirit of Corcyrean sedition began to manifest itself in Corfu; the Russian and Ottoman interests were found to be totally at variance, and Ali did all in his power to promote and take advantage of this jealousy: he persuaded the Porte how necessary was the extension and consolidation of his own power in Epirus, to counteract Russian influence in the islands, and prevent dissensions among the minor states. Hence he procured a firman ordering Hassan Bey of Margariti, Pronio Agà of Paramithia, and several other independent

* See the plate representing the mountains of Suli, and the exit of the Acheron.

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chiefs, to assist him in his conquests; whereas it was their interest, as it was the secret wish of their hearts, to have leagued together for his annihilation.

Two of these agàs, Pronio of Paramithia and Mahmout Daliani of Konispoli, were obliged to lead 1500 men in a grand attack which Ali now meditated. The vizir himself encamped at Lippa near the sources of the Acheron, sending about half his army to Cestruni (the ancient district of Cestrine) under a favourite general named Mustafà Ziguri. Against these forces the gallant Foto Tzavella marched with a body of Suliots, few indeed in number, but all animated with patriotic ardour and burning for revenge. Having advanced near to the van of the Albanians they laid an ambuscade, which they managed very adroitly from their perfect knowledge of the country, and then sent forward a few of their swiftest palikars to insult and provoke the enemy: this conduct had the desired effect; the Albanians, irritated by their taunts, ran swiftly after them, fell into the ambuscade, and perished without having seen their enemies: the report of musketry reaching the ears of Ziguri, he hastened to the encounter, and as he approached the ambuscade, waving his sword and encouraging his men, a shot from the musket of Tzavella pierced his heart. An incident of this kind is very apt to strike with consternation the troops of a semi-barbarous people: a sudden panic spread itself from rank to rank; when a general volley from the Suliots and a shout raised as a prelude to victory, put them all to flight and occasioned a loss in killed and prisoners that far exceeded in numbers the sum total of their antagonists.

The vizir indignant at this defeat upbraided his troops with pusillanimity, and ordered a general attack on the morrow, that they might have an opportunity of wiping away their disgrace. The Suliots however were apprized

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of his design by their secret friend Pronio of Paramithia, and were advised by him to muster all their forces, and boldly meet the foe dispirited by his late disasters. The republic followed this judicious counsel, placing the flower of the army under the command of its two best captains, Tzavella and Dimo Draco. These excellent officers led their forces through the defiles of the Cassopæan mountains, and came right upon the line of the enemy in his advance: at this moment a tremendous shower of hail descended, which was driven by the wind into the faces of the Albanians: the Suliots taking advantage of the moment, rushed with terrific shouts upon their assailants, who scarcely stood the shock, but throwing away their arms, fled with precipitation over the mountains, where great numbers fell into the hands of their pursuers: the main body escaped, with immense loss, to the reserve under Ali at Lippa.

The vizir, now totally dispirited, and despairing to conquer Suli by assault, determined to alter his manner of warfare, and proceed according to the method of blockade.

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CHAPTER VII.

AGREEABLY to the determination of Ali, alluded to in the preceding chapter, he stationed his army in five columns, at the entrances of the principal defiles, throwing up in one night sixty-four small towers, which were soon afterwards replaced by a smaller number of redoubts, capable of containing from 200 to 400 men. The leaders of the republic, obliged to adopt similar measures of defence, divided their army into five battalions to oppose the enemy, and attached to each a troop of females, who provided them with food, relieved them frequently from the duty of sentinels, and on occasion supplied them with ammunition, or even mingled in the contest. A general assault was now made by the vizir's troops, who again suffered a defeat, and were saved from destruction only by the protection of their new fortifications: nothing but the oath taken by the beys, before the commencement of this war, could have kept them firm in their allegiance. In the mean time a fresh firman was obtained from the Porte, and amongst other chiefs who were required to furnish contingents, even Ibrahim Pasha of Berat was obliged to dispatch 2000 men to the assistance of his enemy: so

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completely was the Divan deluded by the craft of this extraordinary man!

To these soldiers of Berat, who are very warlike by nature, a separate station was assigned, at their own request, to give them an opportunity of distinguishing their superior prowess: this lay opposite one of the advanced guards of the republic, on a hill called Curilla; from which post the Beratians determined to dislodge the Suliots: timely intelligence however being sent to Tzavella, he hastened with a select corps to the relief of his friends, and after three hours of hard fighting, succeeded in driving the assailants down the heights. In the eagerness of pursuit this young Achilles outstripped his companions; which being observed by one of the fugitives who was in danger of being overtaken, he slunk unperceived behind a rock, fired his musket with deliberate aim, and Foto fell: the others, elated by this event, rallied and turned their faces again to the enemy; when a fierce conflict ensued over the body of the fallen chief, like that which the poet has described over the corpse of Patroclus: not a musket was now fired, but each party fought desperately with their sharp Albanian sabres. Foto being only wounded, earnestly entreated his companions to sever his head from his body, to prevent his being carried alive to the pasha; but his gallant comrades replied, that they would carry him back in triumph to his friends: and in this, after prodigious efforts, they succeeded. Immediately on the fall of Tzavella, a soldier ran to convey the welcome tidings of his death to the pasha, who rewarded him with a hundred sequins on the spot, and promised him four hundred more if his news should prove correct.

Soon after this occurrence, and while Foto's wound was healing, an ingenious stratagem was played off by a Suliot

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upon a large body of the new levies. Hearing that they were on their march, he concerted measures with his countrymen, and then throwing himself as if by accident into their way, suffered himself to be made prisoner: presently, as they advanced, a sharp firing was heard on a mountain at a little distance; when the Suliot being questioned as to the cause, answered, that a party of the vizir's troops were engaged with those of the republic, and advised them, if they wished to show their zeal, and gain honour from their chief, to run quickly to the assistance of their allies: the infatuated Albanians take his advice, and ascend the hill; in the hurry of this manœuvre their insidious adviser steals away; they soon find themselves placed between two fires, lose half their men in killed and wounded, and almost all the rest in prisoners.

After this affair, there was a short cessation of all active contests. Ali, despairing to subdue such valiant and determined enemies in open warfare, turned the siege into a blockade, during the delay of which he hoped that famine and treachery might effect what his arms could not. The Suliots however, acquainted with various mountain passes unknown to him, found means to procure food; in the dark nights they sallied out in small parties, and fell upon the surrounding villages, from whence they carried off corn and cattle, pillaging the very camp of their enemies, who dared not leave their entrenchments in the darkness for fear of an ambuscade: the vizir at length, tired of this protracted contest, proposed a truce, and demanded twenty-four hostages as a security against the violation of his territory. Strong necessity urged the Suliots to accept his terms, when the deceitful Ali threw off the mask, imprisoned the unfortunate hostages, and threatened them with death by torture, unless the repub-

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lic should surrender unconditionally. To his perfidious proposals the following answer was returned.

"Vizir Ali Pasha, we greet you.

"By such treacherous conduct you do nothing else but sully your own reputation and increase our determined resistance. Know this, that we have already lost seventeen victims sacrificed in their country's cause; let these other twenty-four then be added to the number: their memory will live in the breasts of their fellow-citizens: but the republic will not on their account surrender itself. Henceforward we neither desire, nor will we entertain any friendship with you; since in all transactions, and on every occasion, you are a violator of good faith."

This infamous conduct of Ali so exasperated the Suliots, that they prohibited all correspondence with him, and threw his letters unopened into the fire. The hostages in the mean time were sent to Ioannina, where, as it was a custom with the Suliots never to deliver up their arms, and no one was found daring enough to demand them, a stratagem was devised for the purpose. Being all sent to the island in the lake, the hegumenos or prior of a convent invited them to attend divine service on a solemn festival: his proposal was unwarily accepted by the Suliots, who, according to custom, deposited their weapons in the church-porch under the pledged faith of the hegumenos: one man, however, named Fotomara, retained his arms, and in reply to the remonstrances of the monk observed, "Whilst my country is at war, caloyer, I lay not down my arms; nor do I commit impiety, in my opinion, by entering armed into the temple of God under such circumstances."

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At their egress out of church they found their arms conveyed away, and a party of Albanian soldiers ready to seize and bind them: the commander then approached Fotomara, and desired him to surrender his weapons. The gallant youth made a motion as if he would have shot the person who made this request, but in a moment the probable fate of his companions flashed across his mind: he restrained himself, and thus calmly replied: "The worthless coward lays down his arms to preserve an ignoble life, the palikar in death alone; see then how a Suliot lays down his arms." At these words he turned the pistol to his own breast, and fell shot through the heart. His companions were all kept closely confined in the different convents of the island.

In the mean time Ibrahim Pasha, disgusted not more at the want of success than of good faith, which marked Ali's conduct, withdrew from the confederacy and secretly supplied the Suliots with stores and ammunition: but the conduct of Pronio Agà of Paramithia, who endeavoured secretly to befriend the republic, being disclosed to the vizir, he demanded and obtained the son of that chieftain as a hostage for his future behaviour. During a cessation of hostilities he dispatched his selictar, accompanied by Kitzo Botzari, a brother of the late traitor, to Suli, with proposals for the surrender of their mountain citadels for the sum of two thousand purses, with permission to settle in any part of his dominions free from taxes and contributions. The Suliots, so often forewarned, penetrated into his intentions and returned the following spirited reply:

"Vizir Ali Pasha, we greet you.

"Our country is infinitely more dear to us than your wealth, or the fine territory which you promise to bestow upon us. You labour therefore in vain. Liberty is not

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to be bought by all the treasures of the earth. We will fight till there exists not a Suliot to defend his country."

After the failure of these public proposals, Ali turned all his thoughts to excite individual treachery within this brave republic. Accordingly he dispatched a letter secretly to the valiant Captain Dimo Zerva, promising him 800 purses, with all the honours he could desire, if he would betray the republic. Zerva immediately convened the chiefs, read the letter in their presence, and returned the following answer on the spot.

"I thank you, vizir, for the kind regard you express towards me, but I beseech you not to send the purses, for I should not know how to count them; and if I did, believe me that one single pebble belonging to my country, much less that country itself, would in my eyes appear too great a return for them. Equally vain are the honours you offer to bestow upon me. The honours of a Suliot lie in his arms. With these I hope to immortalize my name and preserve my country."

Ali, fertile in expedients, now tried the effect of hierarchical interposition; and a long correspondence took place between the Archbishop of Ioannina and the Bishop of Paramithia, in whose diocese Suli is situated. This was carried on by means of an infamous monk, called, for his wicked character, Kako-Joseph (Κακοϊωσὰφ): but the good bishop, who deservedly bore the appellation of Chrysanthes, steadily rebutted all attempts to corrupt his principles: he was afterwards obliged, through fear of his life, to escape and fly to Parga. Ali's troops now began to desert: he had lost, it is said, near 4000 in the last nine months of the war, whilst only twenty-five Suliots

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had perished :* these latter however became greatly distressed for want of provisions, being closely blockaded and deprived of all their external dependencies : yet never at any period did the flame of liberty burn more brightly, nor did they ever make greater sacrifices for the love of their country. Contriving to send all useless mouths to Parga and the islands, they distributed their provisions to the different captains of the republic in proportion to their followers.

About this time they received a quantity of arms and other stores from Bonaparte, by the French brig of war, the Arab, which landed them at Porto Fanari, from whence they were secretly conveyed to Suli. This circumstance however proved rather a misfortune than a benefit, since it produced a jealousy of their cause in the minds both of the Russians and the English, who might otherwise have assisted them in their emergency.

After a year's siege their condition became so lamentable that they were obliged to live upon acorns, herbs, and roots, and to grind and mix up the bark of trees with a scanty proportion of meal; yet under all calamities their enemies could gain no advantage over them when they came to engage in conflict. In their extreme distress the following is one of their manœuvres to obtain supplies.

Four hundred of the bravest palikars, with 170 female

* I take some of these relations from the work of a Parghiote, published in Venice A. D. 1815, upon the wars of Suli. I have altered many from more accurate information: indeed the writer, though he gives the chief events of the war, seems very ignorant of motives and political causes; and I cannot help suspecting that in many other instances besides the one referred to in the text, he errs greatly in the number of Suliots who fell in different encounters with the pasha's troops. With all advantages of situation or superiority of courage, the difference, one would think, could scarcely be so great; although instances of the same kind have occurred in the late insurrection of the Greeks.

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heroines, headed by Mosco, sallied out by night, under cover of the darkness, through the defile of Glyky, and arrived in safety at Parga. They were joyfully received by the compassionate inhabitants, fed for the space of four days, and on the fifth dismissed with as much provision as they could carry. One hundred of this troop, with lighter burdens, marched as an advanced guard, to protect the convoy; next came the women, and then the rest of the men, each with as large a load as he could support. The Albanians, to the number of more than a thousand, advanced to intercept them, but either through fear of the men, or that respect towards women which is carried so far in this country that the soldiers sometimes fire from behind them without fear of a return, they refrained from attacking the party: its arrival was most welcome to the Suliots, reduced as they were almost to skeletons, through famine: yet even in this extremity their cry was liberty or death.

In the mean time the vizir was constantly at head quarters with the army, except when his presence was required in his capital; nor did he omit any of those seductive arts which he so well knew how to apply, for bringing over some of the captains to his interests. Among these, two only were found capable of listening to his promises and of preferring the favour and money of a tyrant, to a sense of honour and patriotic devotion. These two, viz. Cuzzonica and Diamante Zerva, held interviews with the common enemy, and carried proposals from him to the council of the republic; but they were all indignantly repelled by the strenuous exertions of Foto Tzavella and Dimo Draco, or by the patriotic exhortations of Samuel the caloyer, to whom the Suliots paid great reverence. These brave captains took a solemn oath, in which they invited other citizens to join, that they would war with

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the tyrant till victory or death should release them—they dared all dangers in defence of their country—they animated the brave—they encouraged the timid—and by their experience, sagacity, and courage, fully justified the confidence reposed in them by their countrymen.

In the mean time Diamante Zerva repented of his conduct, and broke off all connexion with the enemy: he endeavoured to persuade the Suliots that his motives for engaging in it were to gain money for the public service, and to procure the release of their hostages; yet he was never able to regain their confidence or good opinion. The worst horrors of famine now began to appear again at Suli: but the misery of the people made them ingenious, and various stratagems were executed for procuring food even from their besiegers. Amongst these, the contrivance of one Gianni Strivinioti was remarkable. This man having heard that the Turks had procured a supply of cattle from the neighbouring pastures, dressed himself in his white capote and camise, and concealing himself till the shades of evening had descended, walked out on all fours from his lurking place, and mingling with the herds, entered with them into the stalls: but in the dead of night he arose silently, opened the doors, unloosed the oxen, and drove them towards a party of his friends: the Albanians heard the noise, but were so alarmed by suspicion of an ambuscade, that they lay still, and preferred the loss of their cattle to the danger of their lives. At another time some Albanian troops took an ass belonging to the Suliots, which had strayed near their camp: at the earnest request of the latter by a flag of truce, it was restored under promise of an equivalent; when a Mahometan prisoner of the highest rank was released, with an intimation, that if the exchange was not thought equal, the Suliots were ready to make more ample compensation.

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When the vizir, enraged at their obstinate defence, offered, by proclamation, a reward of fifty piastres for every Suliot head, they in return made light of this reward, proposing ten charges of gunpowder to every citizen who should bring in the skull of an enemy.

About this time a bright speck appeared in the midst of that political gloom which hung over the crags of Suli: the ambitious and exterminating designs of Ali became apparent to many other states, and they hastened to form a treaty, offensive and defensive, with this intrepid republic. Amongst these new allies were numbered Ibrahim pasha of Berat, Mustafà of Delvino, Pronio Agà of Paramithia, Mahmout an independent bey of Tzamouria, and Daliani Agà of Konispoli; and thus the whole coast, from Avlona to Suli, was up in arms against the tyrant. Against this torrent he opposed the invincible force of gold; by vast largesses, distributed among the independent beys, he excited a civil war in the states of Ibrahim, and drew him into his own dominions: by opening a secret communication with its governor, he introduced a large body of troops into the fortress of Delvino, carried off some Suliot hostages from thence, and obliged Mustafà to make a separate peace: but the other allies continued true to their engagements. The Suliots, in order that the zeal of these might not have time to cool, planned an immediate attack, in concert, upon the Albanian outposts: in this they partially succeeded, taking many prisoners, whom they disarmed and released, telling them to go home, provide fresh weapons, and then return, for that the Suliots still wanted arms. Soon afterwards Ali sent a large force against Paramithia, which would probably have succeeded, had not Tzavella and Dimo Draco poured down with their troops like a mountain torrent upon the invading enemy, whom they totally defeated, and liberated

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their ally from his dangerous situation. Ali, in revenge, cut off the heads of all the Suliot hostages which he had taken at Delvino, except two; the brother of Tzavella, and the son of Draco; hoping, by this reservation, to bring the characters of those chieftains into suspicion: in this however he failed; for they called together the people, and after an animated harangue and a declaration that they considered these dear relatives as victims to be sacrificed on the altar of their country, they persuaded the Suliots to follow them against the foe; where, by a terrible slaughter, they took ample revenge for the innocent blood which had been shed. Whilst Ali was preparing a blow of retaliation for this disgrace, he suddenly received orders from the Porte to lead his contingent to the army of the grand Vizir, then lying before Adrianople, against the rebel Paswan Oglou; which command he did not think fit to disobey. During his absence the Suliots laid in stores of provisions and arms, and by the advice of Samuel, enlarged the strong fort of Agia Paraskevì, upon the hill of Kunghi.

Ali, at his return, began his usual arts of negotiation, endeavouring to impose upon the Suliots with a false and treacherous proposal of peace, under condition of their allowing him to build and garrison one tower in their district, and banishing from their territories the brave Foto Tzavella, as the chief impediment in the way of tranquillity.

His ambassadors on this occasion were Kitzo Botzari and Cuzzonica, who, by dint of threats and promises, hopes and fears, prevailed upon the republic to request the secession of their bravest captain from those mountains of which his valour was the noblest ornament.

Foto, like an ancient Roman in the early times of the republic, addressed the assembly in a speech full of dignity, as well as of compassion for his deluded countrymen;

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he exhorted them to beware of their inveterate enemy's insidious designs, but disdained to plead in behalf of himself. After the council had broken up, he proceeded to his dwelling, and taking a torch in his hand, he set fire to the roof, and waited till it was burnt to the ground; declaring, that no enemy of Suli should ever cross the threshold of the Tzavellas: he then buried his sword, and bid adieu to the mountains which his valour had so long defended, leaving his countrymen much in the same state as the silly sheep who were persuaded by the wolves to dismiss their guardians.

The vizir now set every engine to work that might bring Foto into his power, and the reader will be able to form some idea of the artifice and cunning of this chief when he learns that success attended his endeavours. Tzavella however did not proceed to Ioannina before he had made the offer of returning to his country, upon condition that certain traitors, whom he named, were banished: this being negatived, he went to the desired conference upon the solemn protestations of Ali's good faith: he soon however found upon what a frail foundation he had built his hopes, for when he refused to enter into the tyrant's views of enslaving his country, he was thrown into prison.

May 12th, 1803.—About this time the mountaineers having received some supplies, made a last effort against their besiegers. The most important post occupied by the Albanians was that of Villa, where they had built a large square fortress with a strong tower at each angle, and a central one in the area, which served as a grand magazine. This fortress it was determined to attack, and 200 picked men set out upon the expedition in a dark and windy night. Having made their approaches unperceived by the enemy, one of them, named Metococcales, took a spade and pick-axe, with which he worked patiently and

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perseveringly until he had excavated a large hole under the foundation of a corner tower: there he deposited a barrel of gunpowder, lighted a slow fusee, and returned to his companions who had concealed themselves behind a rock: they then set up a tremendous shout which brought the garrison to the suspected place of attack, where they had scarcely arrived before an explosion took place which buried them beneath the ruins of the angle: the Suliots then rushed through the breach and gained possession of the central tower; this they emptied of all its stores, which they delivered to their women and children, who arrived in great numbers; and the whole time till dawn of day was occupied in their removal: that part of the garrison which escaped the effects of the explosion had retreated into the three other towers which they strongly barricadoed. In the morning they were summoned to surrender, and required in token of submission to cast down their arms: the Albanians pretended to do so; but when the Suliots advanced to pick them up, they were fired upon by a reserve, and many killed. This want of faith so enraged them that they sent for a large reinforcement of their countrymen, on whose arrival they applied a vast heap of pitch and other combustibles to the entrances of the towers and burned alive or suffocated those perfidious enemies.

This however was their last action of any consequence before the star of Suli set. The indignant vizir issued proclamations, calling upon every Mahometan amongst his subjects and allies, in the name of their great prophet, to avenge this slaughter. Having thus collected a large army, he placed it under the command of his son Vely at Glyky: moreover 5000 troops were stationed under two distinguished captains named Mezzo Bonno and Agho Mordari, at Villa; 4500 at Zabruco under

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Hassan Zapari and Ibrahim Demi; 3000 at Syritziana under Bekir Giogadorus, and 4000 at Tzecurati under Usuff Agà surnamed 'The Arab.'

Even to this overwhelming force the Suliots did not yield; but by the most daring stratagems and surprises reduced their enemies to such a pitch of despair that they began to consider them as invincible, and to desert in considerable numbers: at last however Kitzo Botzari by large bribes and larger promises prevailed upon Cuzzonica and one Pylio Gusi to betray their native mountains. Just before this time the vizir had liberated Tzavella upon condition of sending his wife and children to Ioannina as hostages and settling, with the rest of his family, either at Parga or one of the Ionian islands. In the month of September, 1803, this gallant chieftain came to Suli for the last time: assembling the council of the republic in Kiaffa he gave them the best information possible respecting the state of affairs, exhorted them to defend their liberties unto death, and advised them to send away all useless hands under plea of his relationship: the Suliots followed his advice, and Foto led these unhappy exiles to Parga, from whence they embarked for Corfu. In the mean time Cuzzonica and Gusi having had several conferences with Vely Pasha, and engaged the whole fara of the Zervas to act as their accomplices, led a body of two hundred Albanians through some secret passes and concealed them in the houses of the conspirators. Next day Vely made a general attack, and the Suliots, while engaged in the defiles, were assaulted in the rear and dispersed; great numbers were killed, and the rest either retreated into Kako-Suli or shut themselves up with Samuel in the tower of Kunghi; whilst Kiaffa itself fell into the hands of the enemy. News of this unfortunate event reaching the ears of Foto Tzavella,

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he was unable to restrain his ardour, and although his dearest pledges were in the power of the tyrant, he resolutely abandoned them to their fate, and departing for Suli, passed unperceived through the enemy's guards by night, and threw himself into the fort of Kunghi with the caloyer: he thence headed a desperate sally against a large body of troops under the conduct of Ali himself, who came to attack Kako-Suli over the mountains of Dervitziana, and put them so completely to the rout, that the vizir retired to Ioannina and left the whole conduct of the war to his son: it is said that at this time his favourite wife the excellent and lamented Ermineh pleaded with him the cause of the unfortunate Suliots, and that Ali, irritated as he was by his frequent and late failures, treated her with such violence as to occasion her death. Mr. Pouqueville who relates the affair at large, says that he fired a pistol at her; and though endeavours have been made to throw discredit on his account, I am afraid there is some truth in it, since it is well known that on several occasions, one of which will be related in the course of this narrative, he exhibited signs of deep remorse at the bare mention of her name. The poor Suliots were at last so worn down by war and famine, and so strictly blockaded on every side by their inveterate enemies, that they were reduced to the necessity of accepting terms of capitulation on the 12th of December 1803: yet even in this situation the terror of their name was such, that the whole population was permitted quietly to emigrate and to settle wherever they might please.

And now follow some bloody and perfidious scenes in the catastrophe of this tragic history. Men, women, and children being gathered together, they were separated into two bodies; the largest of which under the conduct of Tzavella and Dimo Draco bent their steps towards Parga;

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whilst the other proceeded in the direction of Prevesa, with the intention of embarking for Santa Maura. Each was attacked on its march by the troops of the perfidious tyrant: the first mentioned corps having formed a hollow square, and placed their wives, children, and cattle in the midst, gallantly fought their way through the enemy; but the other party were not equally fortunate: being overtaken at the monastery of Zalongo, they entrenched themselves in its court and prepared for a stout defence: so many troops however were brought against them that the gates of the monastery were forced, and an indiscriminate slaughter commenced; those that could escape took the road to Arta; but a party of near one hundred women and children, cut off from the rest, fled towards a steep precipice at a little distance from the convent: there the innocent babes were thrown over the rocks by their despairing mothers; whilst the women themselves, preferring death to dishonour, and raising their minds to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by songs in honour of their lost country, whirled round and round in a species of frantic dance, like the ancient Thyades, until they approached the edge of the cliff: then with a loud shout of defiance, and as it were by a preconcerted signal, one and all threw themselves headlong down.*

* In the interesting pages of Xenophon Suli finds a parallel not only in its external aspect, its gloomy rocks and precipitous chasms, but in the storming of its mountain holds by the assailants, in the courage of its defenders, and in the self-immolation of its heroines. It is of the Taochians that he is speaking, a wild people of Pontus, who opposed the ten thousand Greeks in their celebrated retreat. After the latter had by a spirit of emulation gained possession of these fastnesses, "there followed a scene dreadful to behold: for the women having thrown their children over the precipices, cast themselves down after them; and the men followed their example: then it was that Æneas the Stymphalian, commander of a cohort, seeing a Barbarian richly dressed, about

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After the evacuation of the mountains, Samuel the caloyer, with four privates, remained in the great fortress of Kunghi, to deliver up an inventory of its stores to Vely Pasha's commissioners; but having received intelligence of the vizir's perfidy, he determined to take the only revenge that now lay in his power: accordingly as soon as the Albanian bey and his attendants entered, he descended into the subterranean vaults with a lighted torch, and plunging it into the gunpowder of the magazine blew up the fortress and all it contained into the air; by which terrible act of retribution he avoided the horrid fate prepared for him by the vizir; who had sworn, if he took him, to flay him alive and stuff his skin as a curiosity.

Those exiles who escaped from Zalongo pursued their way through storms of wind and rain, aided by the darkness of night; fathers leading their children in one hand and carrying their naked swords in the other; mothers tying their infants on their backs, and endeavouring to stifle their cries lest they should attract the attention of their pursuers: next day however they were discovered by the Albanians, surrounded, and made prisoners; but subsequently were released and allowed by the vizir to settle at Vurgareli near the foot of Mount Tzumerka, six hours from Arta. After their surrender a party of Albanians withdrew to a place called Rhiniasa, near the ruins of an ancient city, probably Elatria, where was a small settlement of Suliots; most of these however had fled, except the family of one Giorgaki Botzi, whose wife and children inhabited a large pyrgo or tower, which was barricadoed against attack. The barbarous soldiers sur-

to cast himself down, laid hold of his robe; but the Barbarian springing forward pulled him over, and both were dashed to pieces at the bottom of the rock." Anab. Lib. iv.

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rounded it and called upon these unhappy females to surrender: the mistress, named Despo, then assembled her family together, and asked them if they preferred death to dishonour? Being unanimously answered in the affirmative, she ordered them to fire off all the ammunition which had been left in the tower against the ruffians, except one barrel of gunpowder: this done, she herself applied the match to it and blew up the tower with all its tenants into the air.

But the scene is not yet to close over the miserable remnant of Suli. The vizir, whose revenge was still unsatiated, sent troops against the colony of Vurgareli with orders for its extirpation. The unfortunate colonists having received intimation of his design decamped suddenly, and took up a strong position at the monastery of Seltzo, not far from the Achelous, where in January, 1804, they were attacked by an army of Albanians, which, for the horrid purpose of revenge, had been selected from the relatives and friends of those who had fallen in the war. After a siege of several months, in which these miserable exiles bravely resisted their enemies, Ali sent strong reinforcements, with a severe reprimand to his officers, and orders for a general assault. Thus stimulated, the barbarians made another attempt with success; the Suliots were all put to the sword, except a few that escaped into Acarnania; whilst the women, in a fit of desperation, ran towards the Achelous and cast both their children and themselves into its stream.

Ali now repaired the forts of Suli, and laid the foundation of that splendid fortified serai which we saw upon the top of Kiaffa. In the mean time the poor Suliots, dispersed abroad among the neighbouring tribes, took refuge, some at Santa Maura, and others with the Alba-

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nian beys; but the greatest part retired to Parga and Corfu, where they subsisted upon charity, or enrolled themselves in the service of their protectors; whilst the sight of their dark mountains towering above the Tzamouriot hills, and the thoughts of those days when they wandered about their native rocks free as the mountain storm, filled their hearts with melancholy recollections. A source from which they endeavoured to draw consolation in their misfortunes was the composition of patriotic songs, which they sung upon the downfal of their country and the valour of her sons: the principal one of these, denominated (κατ' ἐξοχήν) the Song of Suli, is still so great a favourite in Albania, that a translation of it is offered to the English reader, in which the sentiments are preserved, though in a few instances it was found impossible to adhere strictly to the simplicity of the original.

SONG OF SULI.

1.

Shall Suli submit to the foe?
Shall her brave palikars bend the knee?
Shall the fire in their hearts cease to glow,
While Foto is gallant and free?

2.

Foto lives and is free—let them sneer:
He bows not his neck to a lord;
For his musket is Foto's vizir,
And Foto's pasha is his sword.

3.

To Franghia * the hero is sped.
Oh! curse on each traiterous slave!
Cruel Cutso and Botzari fled
From the ranks of the faithful and brave.

* I. e. to Corfu, for the Ionian islands are included in Franghia or the land of the Franks.

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4.

To Parga's dark rock in the sea
A bird has directed her flight;—
"Bird, bird, from what crag dost thou flee?
Where ends thy sad journey to-night?"

5.

'On Suli's high crag is my nest:
To yonder green isle I repair.'
"So peace on thy downy wings rest,
Sweet bird, as its message they bear.

6.

"Then what news from dark Suli, sweet bird?"
'What news?—Thou art free, palikar,
But at Suli no more shall be heard
Thy shout in the frenzy of war.

7.

'For Suli lies low and forlorn;
Avarico and Kiaffa renowned;
And Kunghi's high ramparts are torn
Into fragments and scattered around.

8.

'For the gallant Caloyer was there;
And he laughed as he lighted the train:
Oh! he laughed ere he soared up in air
To escape from a conqueror's chain.'

The generous mind, which knows how to respect valour and detest that baseness which can betray it, may feel some relief at knowing that of all those who sold themselves to Ali Pasha for the reduction of Suli, not one escaped retribution by the rapacious fangs of him for whom they had thus stained their souls with crime. The chief instrument and prime mover of this treachery, who first induced Botzari to turn traitor, was named Palasca. He was first known as a robber at the head of a gang that infested the mountains of Zagori and Kolonia, where he pillaged caravans and plundered travellers to such an

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extent that Ali sent a large force against him and offered a considerable reward to the person who should take him prisoner. After a desperate conflict he was at length secured, brought to Ioannina, and condemned to the stake: but on the morning which was to have seen his execution, a person found means to interest the father of our host, old Anastasi Argyri, in his behalf; who went to the serai and urged his petition upon his knees before Ali. "Leave him to his fate, φίλε μου, leave him to his fate, for he is an incorrigible rascal," said the vizir. Anastasi however renewed his entreaties, which he seconded by slipping a diamond ring of great value upon a finger of the hand which he held in supplication. "Well then," replied Ali, "if it must be so, I give you the man; take him and do what you please with him: but I know you will repent this interference." Upon this the old gentleman went to the prison, carried off the culprit to his own house, kept him there for a month, and then dismissed him with a sum of money and abundance of good counsel. The first news he heard afterwards of Palasca, was, that he had organized a large band of Kleftes in the woods about Arta and Salagora, which they rendered almost impassable; and two months had scarcely elapsed before several bales of rich Genoa velvet, the property of Anastasi himself, were seized by these desperadoes. The old gentleman made bitter complaint of this when he next visited his friend at the serai, but gained no other kind of pity except a loud laugh, and a taunt respecting the caution which he had received. "Well, well," said Anastasi, "I will at least make one attempt for the recovery of my property;" and going home, he dispatched a messenger to Palasca with a letter; to which he received an immediate answer from the robber informing him that his goods were all restored at the dogana of Salagora, and

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that if the bales had been full of sequins not one should have been taken: he made an apology for neglecting good advice and following such a life, but pleaded the impossibility of inaction, or pursuing any other course but that to which he had been so long habituated. The outrages of this gang at length became so daring that Ali was obliged to send a little army against them, when Palasca was so hotly pursued, that he deserted his company and fled for refuge to the rocks of Suli. There he lived for some time in good repute, married a daughter of the Captain Botzari, and led many parties of Suliots with great success against the Albanian forces. At last it struck Ali, who knew the character of the man, that he might be converted into a fit instrument for the promotion of his designs: he therefore entered into communication with him by means of his selictar-agà, with whom Palasca was acquainted, gained him over to betray those who had so hospitably received him, and through his influence persuaded Botzari also to act as a traitor to his country. Palasca was now not only pardoned, but received into high honour by the vizir; was made a captain in his army, and accompanied him in his expedition against Paswan Oglou; where he so distinguished himself that he was promoted to a still higher command, and taken completely into confidence. Upon their return to Ioannina he was made a member of the divan, and intrusted with many important commissions; amongst others to collect the tribute in one of the districts of the pashalic. Here however the temptation became too strong, his old habits returned in full vigour, he ran off with the money, and again took refuge in Suli. At the capture of this place he was one of that party who were attacked by the Albanians at the monastery of Seltzo: with about fifty others he made his escape and fled into the forests of Acarnania, which had long

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abounded in Kleftes, in consequence of the Armatoli having been insidiously deprived of their rights about the middle of last century: there he took up again his old trade of robber with a large brigade, but was at last routed by Ali's troops, discovered by a shepherd amidst the reeds of a marsh, and carried to Ioannina. There he found no Anastasi again to plead for him; but having had his skin flayed from his face, and his hands and feet chopped off, he was left to die by the side of the public road, a dreadful spectacle to all beholders.

Palasca however was not the only one of the Kleftes who felt the resentment of their ancient colleague. Ali was determined, as far as he was able, to destroy all independence in Albania except his own; and for this purpose, soon after the conquest of Suli, he persecuted with his utmost vengeance the Armatoli and Kleftes throughout his lawful, and his usurped dominions: the characteristic traits which I have already given of these remarkable classes, will easily account for this his determination; accordingly there is scarcely a machine which treachery could contrive, a temptation which power could hold out, or a punishment which cruelty could inflict, which he did not employ against such of them as defied his authority. Many who surrendered voluntarily, or after defeat, were received into his service and became the most distinguished of his warriors; others, who determined to resist him, were, if taken, subjected to the most dreadful punishments, not more to terrify their companions than to gratify revenge; for the tyrant generally feasted his eyes with their tortures and his ears with their groans. His chief agent was Veli Guekas, an Albanian of the tribe of Dgedges, whom, from his daring crafty wiles and unrelenting heart, he appointed his derven-agà or lieutenant: Mezzobonno was another of his

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creatures employed to entrap victims and to exercise upon them tortures too horrible for description. So unceasingly were the poor Kleftes harassed by these myrmidons, that they were obliged to be constantly moving their quarters, and consequently fell into ambuscades, or were taken through the treachery of comrades who were unable to resist the pasha's gold and promises. The unceasing persecution to which they were subjected is affectingly marked in one of those favourite songs of the Greek Kleftes which Mr. Sheridan has so beautifully translated, where the hero of it is unable to finish the baptism of his infant at the font, owing to an incursion of Mezzobonno and his followers :

> George, quit the babe, and grasp the sword;
> For horse and foot, the Moslem horde,
> Comes pouring on in power and pride.

The manners, adventures, and tragic fate of several of these hardy mountaineers are well detailed in the notes, from which I take the liberty of selecting two examples.

Spiro Skyllodemos, celebrated in one of the songs of the Kleftes, and of an ancient family of Armatoli in Acarnania, fell in the year 1806 into the hands of Ali Pasha, who threw him into a deep dungeon, where he lay for many months chained and immersed in mud and water.* By means of a long sash and a file, he one night escaped from his prison; but the gates being closed, it was impossible for him to leave the citadel before morning; and then he was nearly hopeless of eluding discovery. Spiro, as his only chance of escape, buried himself to the throat in that forest of reeds which fringes the Lake of Ioannina, endured in this situation during three days and

* No doubt the horrid buldron under the ditch of the Castron.

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nights the extremes of cold and hunger, then seized a boat, crossed the lake, and returned by the mountain paths into Acarnania. He was afterwards pardoned by Ali, and became protopalikar to Odysseus, then appointed by that pasha to the command of Livadia. To explain the dramatic scene, which forms the song, it must be remembered that the life of the Kleftes was one of such constant privation and hardship, that the shelter of an over-hanging rock, or even of a few storm-shivered pines, was to them no contemptible banquetting hall, and that the persecutions of their enemies the Derven-agàs obliged them to celebrate their feasts only under the obscurity and protection of the night. Another striking trait of manners which the rude song conveys, is the chivalrous gallantry of the Kleftes to their female prisoners. Skyllodemos demands of the captive Irene, in the darkness of midnight and solitude of the mountains, only the favour of pouring out his wine; and proposes, as the condition of this slight mark of homage, that she should be instantly reconducted to her home unransomed, and with a guard of honour. Yet the fair Irene haughtily refuses to perform even this slight act of conciliation; and the refusal is introduced, not as an instance of pride in a captive or forbearance in a conqueror, but as what would be the natural answer of any woman to such a proposition. In fact, the slightest want of reverence, even in a captain, towards a woman, would have been followed by at least the immediate desertion of all his followers.

The other story which I shall relate, concerns one of the most romantic characters of all the Epirotic Kleftes, the celebrated Katzantoni. To show the love born to this man by his companions, the following anecdote of him may be premised. He was once surrounded with his friend

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and fellow-palikar Diplas, by 1500 Albanians who had put to flight their band of Kleftes. "Which of you is Katzantoni?" said Mouhoudàr, one of Ali Pasha's best captains. "I am he," replied Katzantoni, and was instantly overpowered and seized. Upon which Diplas cried out, "Who is the palikar who thus dares to steal my name? I am Katzantoni, and I will never surrender myself." Thus misled the Albanians attacked Diplas, who fell, after slaying seven Moslems: but Katzantoni escaped. He was a native of Agrapha, and one of those wandering shepherds, who, in summer, drive their flocks to the highest summits of Mount Pindus, and in winter descend to the sea coast or the plains. The greedy disposition of Ali Pasha pursued these poor and harmless tribes into their mountain wilds, confiscating their numerous flocks, invading their pastures, and heavily taxing their little pastoral wealth. Katzantoni and his brothers suffered peculiarly from these oppressions; but when he talked of turning kleft, the brutal Turks and Albanians only ridiculed his gentle voice, his small stature, and his feeble appearance. In him, however, as in Zisca, the soul of a hero has lodged in a diminutive body. He sold his flocks, burnt his tents and cabins, assumed the dress and arms of a Kleft; and, though at first only joined by his brothers, he soon collected an intrepid body of companions, with whom he established himself in the Thessalian part of the Agraphian mountains. Long did he defy the whole power of Ali Pasha, and of all his exploits the death of Veli Guekas was the most famous. This Derven-Agà, with a large body of Moslem militia, was vainly hunting him throughout Acarnania, and in his rage at being thus baffled was pillaging its hapless villagers, when Katzantoni, to save his countrymen, wrote to Veli Guekas, and

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offered him a hostile rendezvous at Kryavrysi. The summons of the generous Greek, and the fate of the vindictive Turk, are detailed in two songs.

The proudest period in the life of Katzantoni was his appearance in 1806 at Santa Maura, from whence the Russians, who then held the Ionian Islands, were endeavouring to seduce the Greeks into revolt, that they might, as usual, exculpate themselves in the eyes of the Porte by subsequently deserting their victims. They had summoned the attendance of those Kleftic captains on whose co-operation they placed the greatest reliance; and amongst these Katzantoni was honourably conspicuous, by the universal deference paid him, and by the contrast between his diminutive size and the splendor of his dress and noble haughtiness of his demeanor: but this gratification of vanity was dearly purchased, for he was attacked by the small pox, the remains of which not even the beloved breath of his native mountains, to which he returned on his convalescence, could dissipate. In 1809 this lingering disease became more oppressive, and he was confined by sickness in a monastery on Mount Pindus. Fearful of drawing down the vengeance of the Albanian Phalaris on his hosts, he removed, languid and feeble, to a cave in the neighbourhood, nursed only by his brother George, and supplied with daily provisions by an old woman. Either the woman or the monks betrayed him to Ali Pasha, who instantly dispatched sixty Albanians, with orders to bring Katzantoni and his brother *alive!* George, on casually leaving the cavern, found the sixty barbarians blocking its mouth! He returned, told his sick brother, placed him on his shoulders, grasped his sabre with his teeth, and his gun in his hand. Thus encumbered he regained the mouth of the cavern, shot the foremost Albanian, and dashed off towards a neigh-

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bouring forest. The Albanians pursued; he laid down his living burthen upon the ground and with his sabre killed a second foe. Thus flying and fighting alternately, he had already killed or wounded several, when the others, furious with shame, rushed on in crowds, and at length secured the two brothers. They were carried to Ioannina and condemned to have their lower limbs crushed by blows from a mallet. The sentence was executed in the great square of Ioannina by a nephew of Veli Guekas, and before an immense crowd of Turks, who endeavoured by taunts and curses to aggravate the sufferings of the two victims. Katzantoni enervated by a long sickness shrieked when the mallet began to crush his knees: George only said, "Katzantoni, will you cry like a woman?" and never uttered a groan while his limbs were pounded from the hip to the heel.

The Suliots had not long been banished from their country before they were engaged by Hassan Zapari and the beys of Tzamouria to attempt its recovery, Ali having refused to withdraw his troops from the Tzamouriot district, before its seaports should be delivered into his power. In fact, for political purposes, he entered into an agreement to rent the duties of these ports from the Capudan Pasha; but the beys would not pay the revenue into his hands, or allow his garrisons to collect it; though they expressed a perfect readiness to receive and pay any other officer whom the Porte should appoint. They now brought into the field about seven thousand men, and retook the important fortress of Leftherochori, which Ali had suddenly seized: but still fearing the event of the contest, they applied to the Russians for assistance; and allured the Suliots to join their cause, with the hope of recovering their native mountains. From Count Mocenigo at Corfu, they received an auxiliary force of Albanian

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warriors, and the Suliots landed at the mouth of the Acheron to the number of about fifteen hundred. The issue of this contest however turned out most disastrous to the independent cause: Ali took about forty towns and villages, with much plunder and many prisoners, and would at this time have conquered all Tzamouria, but that he thought it his best policy to act with forbearance, and yield to the desire of his adversaries for peace, which was mediated by the Turkish admiral Seramet Bey: thus he deceived the Porte by showing a deference to its authority, and pleading his own wish to preserve order and tranquillity as the sole inducement for taking up arms.

The Suliots were very ungenerously treated by their allies, being left in total want of clothes, ammunition, provisions, and every kind of assistance; nor was any attempt made to reinstate them in the land of their ancestors, though this had been held out as the chief inducement for their services. Thus deserted they fought their way back to Parga, and from thence retreated again to Corfu: there they accepted an offer from the Russian authorities to form a regiment in the Albanian battalion,* just

* This battalion was commanded by a Russian officer named Bekendorff; and was increased and recruited by exiles from all parts of the continent who fled either from the tyranny or the justice of Ali Pasha. Each regiment consisted of nine companies, each company being commanded by a captain, two lieutenants and one ensign: the pay of a captain was only sixty piastres per month, of a lieutenant forty, of an ensign twenty-five, and a private nineteen. In the war which soon ensued between Russia and France this corps was employed in the Neapolitan expedition, and after the peace of Tilsit it passed into the service of the French under the command of Col. Minot. Foto Tzavella and Mosco his mother both held commissions, the former that of a captain, the latter of a major in this battalion, but resigned them, like many others from disgust at ill treatment, as well as from that inherent love in the Albanian for his native soil, which, as in the case of the Swiss, never forsakes him. Foto with forty men passed over to Ioannina, threw himself at the feet of the

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as they were deliberating upon a plan of emigration, for the purpose of founding a republic in some other district of Greece.

The part taken in these affairs by the Russians served but to augment Ali's hatred against them; and his jealousy was this year (1805) still further alarmed by an event in the north of Albania, where the republic of Monte Negro, which was able to bring twenty thousand muskets into the field, voluntarily took the oath of allegiance to the Russian government. The Russians on their part were equally jealous of the vizir's increasing power, from whence they foresaw the most serious obstacles to their own designs upon European Turkey: hence they sought by every method to counteract his designs and control his movements; but not succeeding in any of their enterprises for want of spirit, activity, and proper intelligence, they always involved the poor Greeks in the most serious calamities, and promoted the very plans which it was their intention to oppose. They did however succeed in counteracting his machinations at Constantinople; where he put all his arts in practice to gain permission for re-occupying the ex-Venetian towns, or at least to get the appointment of the commissioner vested in himself, which would have led to the same result.

The rapid progress of the French arms in Dalmatia began also to excite his apprehensions; and in this dilemma he turned his views towards the English government, with which he had continued to carry on an active correspondence through Lord Collingwood. Hence it was that Major Leake, who had this year been sent upon a commission to Ioannina, was detained to take a military

pasha, made the προσκύνησις or adoration, and was received into his service. Mosco who accompanied him married a second husband, and was living in that capital at the time of our residence there.

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survey of the country and point out the best means of defence against an invading enemy. In these measures Ali was employed, building fortresses, reforming his police, clearing the country of banditti, and above all endeavouring to sow dissensions in the neighbouring states, when the victory of Austerlitz, followed by the union of Illyricum and Dalmatia with the French empire, made him think it prudent to recover the favour of the Emperor. Bonaparte having at this time serious designs upon European Turkey, did not think proper to repel his advances, but even sent him some valuable presents through General Massena. Ali himself declared that he offered to make him independent king of Epirus; but he had no document to prove the truth of this assertion.

As Russia still continued in hostility with France, and at the same time manifested designs of aggrandizing herself at the expence of Turkey, Ali thought the opportunity was now arrived for attacking that power in the Ionian islands, and of establishing an authority there which he had long ardently desired. He sent a request to Buonaparte that a consul might be established in his capital; and Mr. Pouqueville was selected for that important office.

The French ambassador at this time influenced all the councils of the Divan, not more by his emperor's fame, than by the bribes which he distributed among its members. Through his interest Ali procured the pashalic of Lepanto for his son Mouchtar, and that of the Morea for Vely: in return he assisted Sebastiani in promoting the rupture which succeeded between Turkey and Russia, at the very commencement of which he obtained the permission he had so long coveted of re-occupying the continental dependencies of the Ionian islands. Upon taking possession of Prevesa he reduced that unfortunate place by systematic

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oppression to the state of abject misery in which we saw it. Having, in defiance of the treaty of 1800, deprived most of the original proprietors of their lands and houses, which he distributed among his Mahometan followers, he demolished two-thirds of the city, overthrew the churches, laid the foundation of a splendid serai, and built a spacious mosque. All this was done not only to prevent European states from taking an interest in its restitution, but to furnish a plausible pretext to the Ottoman Porte for refusing ever after to restore a *Turkish* city to the protection of an infidel power. Vonizza also and Butrinto were in like manner ruined, though these places were insignificant when compared with Prevesa. Parga luckily escaped the storm by receiving a Russian garrison into its fortress.

Ali nevertheless anticipating the completion of his designs upon the Seven Islands, urged Mr. Pouqueville to furnish him with artillery and engineers, engaging to push the war in this quarter so vigorously against the Russians, that they should be unable to annoy the French in Dalmatia, or send any reinforcements to Cattaro, the siege of which was now meditated by France. At the commencement of 1807 his wishes were gratified; he received both artillerymen and stores, conveyed in a gun-boat and a corvette from the kingdom of Naples; while Colonel Vaudoncourt, a skilful engineer, who had been dispatched upon a mission by Marmont to the beys and pashas of Erzegovina and Albania, remained in his dominions to superintend operations. This officer in a dispatch to the Marshal, which I have seen, affirms that he had no difficulty in developing the motives and estimating the probable services of all the other chieftains whom he visited; but he describes Ali Pasha as a man arrived at the head of an independent state by a complicated series of the most enormous crimes, during which he had by forty years practice

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acquired a dissimulation perfectly impenetrable: falsity had become his habitual character, whilst his hardened soul never betrayed by the least external agitation the passion lurking within: moreover as he was accustomed to sacrifice without mercy his agents in those transactions which he was not willing to avow, a bloody and impervious veil covered all his manœuvres. In the commencement of his residence at Ioannina this officer proceeds to say, that he was deceived by the vizir's apparent symptoms of good faith, by the frankness of his protestations, and the calm physiognomy of his open countenance; but he soon began to entertain suspicions of his character and designs, by the solicitude shown to mislead him with regard to his military resources, by the discrepancy observable between his discourse and actions, by the constant fears expressed lest the French Emperor should demand the restoration of the ex-Venetian towns, by the merit he made of the fortress which he was constructing at Prevesa, and by the fluctuation of his projects regarding Parga and Santa Maura: all which things proved that Ali had views and interests perfectly distinct from his allies; and he soon found that these centred in his own occupation of the septinsular republic at the conclusion of the war. Every subtile art was put in practice to discover whether Mons. Vaudoncourt possessed any secret order respecting such an arrangement: in the mean time Ali was constantly making a display of his services, agitating his presumed rights over the islands, which he affected to say constitute an integral part of the Epirotic territory, expressing his expectations of a recompense, or endeavouring at any rate to elicit a promise of reimbursement in case the cession of any place should be required. The colonel did not think proper to destroy these hopes, lest he should detach him at once from the French interests; and though he longed

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to send a statement of his surmises to Marshal Marmont, he was restrained by knowing that his dispatches would be opened; and he was not in possession of a cipher. A single intercepted dispatch might have caused Ali to take measures injurious to the welfare of the Dalmatian army, while his ulterior views could do no harm; and the very belief felt throughout Europe that he was attached to the French cause might in reality prove beneficial to it.

In the mean time the Vizir continued his exertions with extraordinary activity: he endeavoured to intrigue with the Tzamouriots and Paramithians, for the purpose of carrying Parga by a coup de main; but in this he failed. Under the direction of Colonel Vaudoncourt he threw up works round Ioannina, strengthened his serai of Litaritza, and constructed those forts and lines at Prevesa which seemed formidable when compared with Turkish fortifications in general: but his unconquerable avarice, and his insecurity with regard to indemnification, if the restoration of the place should be demanded, caused him to thwart his engineer in every plan: however as the object of this latter was only to keep the Russians in check, he submitted quietly to the vizir's caprices, and left him a work which was but in part constructed according to the rules of art. He now prosecuted the siege of Santa Maura with great activity, hoping to gain possession of it before any general cession should be made; as no one knew better the value of previous occupation. His army encamped on the beach of Playa, where the channel of the Dioryctos is narrowest; it consisted of eight thousand Albanians under command of his old general Usuf Araps; and to this were opposed on the side of the Russians about two thousand troops of the line, with a multitude of Suliots, augmented by numerous deserters who fled from Ali's injustice or tyranny.

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It is doubtful whether he would not have attained this object of his ardent wishes, had it not been for a well-timed diversion promoted by the Russians, which menaced the internal tranquillity of his states. This arose from a general insurrection of the Tzamouriots and Paramithians, in league with the pashas of Delvino and Berat; and if this latter had been a man of more decided character, Ali, instead of gaining Santa Maura, might have been driven out of Epirus. But he soon found means to divert Ibrahim from the alliance, and sowed dissensions amongst the others, or checked them by his arms.

About this time our celebrated naval expedition sailed against Constantinople, the motives and conduct of which have been so mistaken and misrepresented by politicians on this side the water, that I think it right to state what opinions were entertained respecting it by those nearer to the scene of action.

Russia, in all her enterprises and political schemes, ever kept her eye fixed upon the possessions of Turkey: she was also aware that she never could gain her point, unless England were willing to assist or unable to oppose her. In the year 1806 that great northern power saw a favourable opening in affairs of which she endeavoured eagerly to take advantage. Knowing that England was alarmed at the preponderating influence of Buonaparte, she entered into an alliance with her, offensive and defensive; and then succeeded in forcing Turkey into a contest, by demands which she never would have made had she not been sure of the assistance of her new ally. At the commencement of war a powerful Russian army took military possession of the important provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the very existence of the Turkish empire in Europe was threatened: nor was it

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long before England saw the ultimate aim of Russia; but she could not refuse her co-operation without a risk of throwing Alexander into the arms of Bonaparte; accordingly Admiral Duckworth received orders to advance with his fleet against the Dardanelles. That officer sent a frigate to Corfu, with an intimation to Admiral Siniavin that he expected his contingent, which was supposed to consist of about six ships of the line: instead of this however the Russian admiral immediately bent the sails of nearly thirty; which when our resident in that island observed, he instantly dispatched a confidential messenger overland, in the disguise of a Turkish dervish, to inform the British admiral of the fact; who, upon this intelligence, made all possible expedition, whilst his Russian ally delayed his course at the isles of Hydra, Spezie, and Poros, to procure additional vessels and to man his own. Admiral Siniavin was astounded when he met our fleet at the Dardanelles, returning from Constantinople, against which it had not fired a shot: by this circumstance, whether it may be styled a lucky incident or a masterly manœuvre, the Turkish capital was probably saved from that destruction to which it had been devoted by the cabinet of St. Petersburgh: had the Russian fleet been permitted to anchor before Constantinople, an immense force was prepared in the Black Sea to co-operate with it, and the armies on the Moldavian and Wallachian frontiers were ready to pour down upon their prey. The treaty of Tilsit took place soon after these events.

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CHAPTER VIII.

When the armistice was concluded between Russia and France, Ali was still occupied in prosecuting the siege of Santa Maura, and endeavouring, like his predecessor Pyrrhus, to concentrate his power round the Ambracian gulf: but when this event took place, his French allies withdrew from the contest, and left him to his own resources. A Turk either has, or pretends to have, no notion of etiquette and delicacy of conduct; Ali therefore affected great surprise at what he termed a base desertion; discovered traits of extreme ill humour; and spread the most extraordinary rumours and alarms throughout Albania, being almost thrown off that balance which it was still necessary for him to keep: he dispatched however a messenger to the congress at Tilsit, endeavouring to gain by negotiation what he had failed to take by force. His envoy had formerly been in the service of Buonaparte himself: originally an Italian friar, and chief inquisitor at Malta, he accompanied the French army to Egypt, as interpreter of languages: on his return to Europe, after the battle of the Nile, he was taken

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by a Turkish privateer, and sent as a present to Ali Pasha at Ioannina; where he met with a call to the Mahometan faith, into which he was admitted under the name of Mehmet; he insinuated himself also into the good graces of a beautiful Turkish damsel whom he married, and of his sovereign whom he served with such zeal in various negotiations that he was now appointed plenipotentiary at this important conference. Here, however, his eloquence was of no avail, and he returned to announce the cession of the Septinsular republic to the dominion of France.

When the arrival of Cæsar Berthier as governor at Corfu was made known, Ali thought it a favourable opportunity to gain possession of Parga: with that view he sent his second minister of state, Sechrì Effendi, accompanied by the schoolmaster Psalida, who urged so many plausible pretexts, and supported his claims so adroitly from the tenor of that treaty which Ali had himself shamefully violated, that Berthier, who had received orders to humour the vizir, and concede to him any reasonable request, was upon the point of surrendering the place: fortunately a deputation arrived from Parga to counteract the wiles of their inveterate adversary; and so forcibly did these patriots display his insidious arts, their own long connexion with the Ionian government, and their determination to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their independence, that even Berthier was moved to compassion, and felt his soul animated by feelings of generous enthusiasm. He entered into the cause of the Parghiotes, and exerted himself so effectually with the emperor, that their city and territory were taken under protection, and definitively annexed to the Ionian government.

Ali's ambassadors returning with the purpose of their mission uneffected, excited in his mind a strong feeling

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of hatred against the French; at present however he did not dare to break with them; but it was scarcely possible that he could long remain on terms with any power that possessed the Ionian islands. Soon after the failure of his negotiations, he took an opportunity of retaliating in a manner not quite consistent with his own interests. The authorities in Corfu became so distressed for money, owing to a strict blockade by the English fleet, that they sent a deputation to the vizir requesting him to accommodate them with a loan. His refusal was accompanied with a haughty intimation, that the pasha of Ioannina was neither a banker nor a merchant. Now if Ali had not thus permitted his feelings of hatred or avarice to counteract his schemes of policy, he would have rather doubled the sum required, and have made the French his debtors to as large an amount as possible: then a prohibition of supplies, aided by the English blockade, would soon have upset French philanthropy, and Parga would have been transferred to him as a redemption of the debt. Instead of this he irritated them by every method in his power, imposing enormous duties upon the corn and cattle exported from Albania, and demanding the money to be paid in advance: with what little prudence, however, and with what want of foresight he acted, will be seen by the following passage from a letter of Lord Collingwood, with whom he now entered into a very frequent correspondence. "To a prince of your penetration and knowledge of the political intrigues by which France has ever sought to aggrandize herself, I need not point out the dangers which threaten the Ottoman empire by the late treaty concluded between France and Russia . . . Albania, where your Highness governs, is a powerful country; your people loyal and warlike, and under the direction of a prince skilful and valorous,

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would perhaps be the last assailed; but you will doubtless look forward to your condition when you may be surrounded by a not less powerful people, who, practising upon the minds of men more by their arts than by their arms, have subdued so many nations. I have given strict injunctions to the officers who are blockading Corfu and the islands, to prevent as much as possible all intercourse by the French with that island; and while it is so blockaded I think your Albanians would possess themselves of it in a few days; ... but if you expect success, you must find pretexts for stopping the supply of provisions from your country, &c."* These instructions Ali only partially observed: his avarice interfered with his ambition, or he might have gained Corfu and defied the Ottoman power: it was this insuperable passion which ultimately occasioned his ruin. At length, Berthier, incensed in his turn, declared his intention of forcing Ali to restore the other three continental dependencies, and Butrinto first, that being situated exactly opposite Corfu, and called the key of the island, which itself is styled the gate of the Adriatic. Had the French general at this time acted with promptitude, he might have taken the place with 500 men; but he delayed till the vizir had thrown a garrison into it of 6000 Albanians, and the opportunity was lost. Ali then openly defied all attempts, and in addition to his hatred, conceived a contempt for his adversary. Lest the French should attempt to recover Prevesa, he moved his army from Playa into that place, and completed the sum of its misfortunes. In the summer of 1808, a British agent was dispatched to hold a conference with him there, and to take advantage of the growing inclination which he daily felt towards the English, whose naval power he

* See Lord Collingwood's Life and Correspondence, v. II. p. 74.

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foresaw would prove the greatest obstacle, or the best auxiliary to his future designs. Our envoy landed, and was met at midnight by Ali, upon the ruins of Nicopolis, where they concerted their plan of operations: this secrecy was adopted to keep all knowledge of the fact from the French consul, whom the vizir had invited that day to a rural fête near Vonizza, on the gulf of Arta: he there left his guest in the midst of the amusements which had been provided, whilst a swift-sailing boat conveyed him across the gulf, where a horse was in readiness, upon which he mounted and galloped towards the plain. This interview seems to have been arranged by Lord Collingwood, from the following letter of the vizir to his lordship.*

June 2nd, 1808.

"I am persuaded that it will be most agreeable to my government at Constantinople to renew the good old friendship that subsisted with the English, and I feel extremely happy in being placed in a situation where I may render any service to two nations who were once the strictest friends and allies. I hope that with your Excellency's concurrence, I shall ere long effect the wish of my heart, in the restoration of friendship with the illustrious British nation, and that the union of the two kingdoms will be confirmed for ever. If the machinations of the French be as bad as your Excellency represents them to be, the event must still depend upon the divine will. *In God's mercy are all our hopes, and frequent are the examples which we have of it; for he has many times left our enemies deluded with shame.* I hope, however, that I shall soon have the pleasure to hear of the triumphs of the British arms, and that the enemy will be destroyed in the midst of his evil

* Vol. ii. p. 137.

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projects. As for myself, I shall be ever the same, at all times and in all circumstances. *I spoke to Mr. Leake of what I thought most necessary at present, and I hope he has mentioned it to your Excellency. I anxiously wish that it may be put in execution as soon as possible,* until we can stop the supplies of troops and provisions from entering the islands. The French Embassador endeavours, by the most flattering words, to lessen the vigilance and attention of my government; but all this will have no effect on the attachment which we bear to the English nation. I beg of your Excellency to favour me with any news you have; and I should be glad if you would write to me in future either in Italian, French, or Greek, as I have not a good interpreter for the English language. In the name of God, I wish you health, happiness, and the accomplishment of all your desires. Your sincere and true friend,

"THE VIZIR ALI PACHA."

I was sorry to observe the following passage in his Lordship's answer to this epistle, because it tends to show that Ali's constant declarations, that he had received promises of a certain nature from British agents, rested upon something more than probability. "In the mean time we will endeavour to show your Highness how much the Turks are esteemed, and how much we desire their friendship. I have given directions to the captains of the ships stationed on your coasts to give their best assistance to any operation which you may undertake against the enemy, and have requested that Sir A. Ball would permit your agents to purchase at Malta whatever arms or necessaries of war you may want. *Whenever peace is settled between our nations, I will do what is possible for your success in whatever you undertake.*"* I have no doubt whatever but that

* Vol. ii. p. 165.

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Lord Collingwood was ignorant of the true character of this barbarian, who, above all men, had the faculty of deceiving others with respect to his own ruthless and ambitious views: this indeed appears very strongly in a passage which I extract from another letter of his lordship's to the Pasha. "I have given your Highness," says he after relating the occupation of Spain by the French armies, "an account of these transactions, because I believe you will be glad to hear that the progress of a power which has caused so much desolation in the world has met with a check.*" Ali Pasha indeed rejoice at a stop being put to the progress of desolation! as well might a tiger have been expected to rejoice at knowing that sheep had no longer any blood to suck. The miseries which the French inflicted upon conquered nations were absolute blessings when compared with the tender mercies which his adversaries experienced from that Albanian tyrant.

The spring of the year in which this correspondence took place, saw a great insurrection of the Armatoli of Thessaly, headed by the Papas Euthemos Blacavas. This man having been dedicated by a pious father to the church, was excited by the constant persecutions which his countrymen endured from Ali, to return to the hereditary command of his native Armatoli, his mind being entirely occupied by one great object, the emancipation of Greece. In conjunction with Demetrio Palæopoulo a celebrated chieftain of Karpenissi, he attempted to execute a long-projected plan for overturning the power of Ali Pasha, and establishing a Greek government; but he was unable to cope with so powerful an enemy: having seized upon Kastri, one of the keys to the gates of Pindus, he was, with his associates, surrounded by 4000 Albanians

* Vol. ii. p. 251.

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under Mouchtar Pasha, to whom a wretch named Deli-Ghianni had betrayed them. Demetrio and his followers perished bravely fighting against their foes: Euthymos escaped to the Capudan Pasha who was then at enmity with Ali, but who gave him up soon after, upon a reconciliation taking place between them. Refusing to betray his accomplices, he was cruelly tortured, and then cut alive into small pieces by the executioner at Ioannina. One of the associates in this plot was the far-famed Niko-Tzaras, probably the most gifted, both in mind and person, of all the Kleftic chiefs. The feats of agility and strength performed by this hero are so extraordinary that I hesitate to relate them—that of jumping over seven horses standing abreast is far from being the most surprising. The following account of him given by Mr. Sheridan, in a note to one of his songs, is too interesting to be omitted.

Niko-Tzaras was of a Thessalian and Kleftic family, born at Alassona, where his father was long captain of the Armatoli, and where he was himself sent to the convent of the Holy Trinity, to study under the Archimandrite Anthimos, from whom he acquired a knowledge of ancient Greek and some general notions of science and literature. Two strong Albanian detachments were sent on a dark night to seize the elder Tzaras who had then with him only his children and two or three of his palikars. Seeing that they had invested his house, he lowered by a rope from the window a stuffed figure, covered with his own robes, into which the Albanians instantly discharged a shower of balls; he then rushed among them as they were emulously hurrying to cut off the head of the supposed corpse, and effected his escape into the mountains. Niko-Tzaras was thus removed from a school to a guerilla band, in the command of which, while yet scarcely a man, he

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succeeded his father, who had been killed by the Turks, and he made Olympus and the neighbouring mountains the theatre of his youthful exploits. Ali Pasha having persuaded Niko-Tzaras to enter Ioannina and to pay him homage, took his usual precautions to have him assassinated on his return. Tzaras however escaped; retired to Karitza on the Thessalian coast; married, and would have led a life of tranquil happiness, if the persecutions of Ali had not inflicted upon him, in the gay plains of Thessaly, all the harassing anxiety of a mountain life. Wearied out by the continued dread of assassination, he resumed his gun and sabre, but with a nobler object, the deliverance of his country. In 1804 or 1805, in consequence of arrangements with Prince Hypsilanti then Hospodar of Wallachia, he undertook the expedition whose most glorious achievement forms the subject of the song. On his road to Wallachia with 300 Klefts, he was stopped by Turks posted for that object, in the mountain passes between Thessaly and Macedonia. He reached however the banks of the Karasou, the ancient Strymon, which can only be crossed by the bridge of Pravi always closed with iron chains. On the southern side of this he was surrounded by 3000 Turks, broke through them, crossed the bridge and entered Pravi, where his gallant band refreshed themselves, after a fast of four and a fight of three days. Hearing however that the defiles of Mount Rhodope were garrisoned, and precluded all further approach to Wallachia, he regained the mountains of Thessaly, having completed a harassed march worthy of the Ten Thousand. In his restless hostility against the Turks, he afterwards turned pirate, seized upon one ship and with it captured two others; kept the Gulf of Salonica in constant alarm, and had deeply entered into the projects of the

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Papas Euthymos for the overthrow of Ali Pasha, when he perished in 1806 or 1807. Some Albanian soldiers attacked his sailors, who had landed for water; Tzaras hurried to their aid, and drove off the Arnauts; but one of the former palikars of his crew, whom he had offended, shot from behind a tree and wounded him in the hip, as he was leisurely regaining his boat. He lingered on board several days, and was buried with many honours in the Isle of Skyros; but for many months after his death the terrified imagination of the Turks still supposed him borne along the Ægean by the black sails of his dreaded vessels. His sabre was carried to his widow, who long kept it, with pious regret, for an infant son, who has probably since wielded it in the cause of Greece. Niko-Tzaras in mind and appearance was probably the most gifted of the Kleftic chiefs. His strength and speed were prodigious; his manly beauty remarkable; his ideas always imbued with the early cultivation of his youth. It is painful to think how many of such men were probably sacrificed in the long desultory warfare of the Greeks against the Turks instead of being reserved to co-operate in a combined plan of hostilities.

Ali now became actively engaged in correspondence with our commanders, for the purpose of bringing about that peace between Turkey and Great Britain, which Sir A. Paget endeavoured in vain to negotiate. Mr. Adair, who arrived at the Dardanelles in the latter end of 1808, had just opened a communication with the Turkish Divan, when the insurrection of the janissaries, and the death of the Vizir Mustafà Bairactar threw every thing into confusion. Our minister was on the point of quitting his station in despair, but Ali, who is suspected, and I believe not without reason, of having assisted in fomenting

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this insurrection, as well as that of the Nizam Djedid under Sultan Selim,* wrote instantly to Mr. Adair, and earnestly requested him to wait the event. His advice was followed; his interest had great weight in the Divan, and in a short time the peace was concluded. The tenor of his correspondence may be known from the following crafty and characteristic letter which he at this time addressed to Lord Collingwood.

Ioannina, August 2nd, 1808.

"Your great judgment and profound knowledge of our affairs make me hope that you will not imagine that what has been done by Mustapha Pasha is agreeable to the will of the nation, or of its principal members. Among the rest, Ismael, Bey of Serres, who thinks as I do, will set off in a few days, at the head of a strong force, to Adrianople, for the purpose of being present at what may take place. Many events will happen and much blood be spilt, before the management of affairs will be left to Mustapha Pasha, who has been instigated to commit these acts by the insidious arts of our enemy. It is true that he at present holds the seals, but it is only by violence, and I make no doubt that affairs will soon assume a more pleasing aspect. For this reason it is necessary that there should be *in my neighbourhood a sufficient naval force, of which the senior officer should receive full powers to concert and co-operate with me in all that is necessary.* Your Excellency is well aware that mankind at present *seem unhappily*

* The Nizam Djedid, as well as the regulations of Mustafâ Bairactar, were calculated to infuse new vigour and energy into the Turkish state, by reforming the army, abolishing the janissaries, and introducing European improvements into all branches of the government. The old system of things is much more agreeable to a rebellious pasha, who sets up a sovereignty independent of the Porte.

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urged on by the desire to subvert and desolate. I have proposed to your Government to provide against such disposition and its necessary effects; but it is beyond my ability alone, and I cannot counteract them unless *support be afforded me.* Your Government, which makes daily so many sacrifices, and sends, as we hear, ships and money to the Baltic, should not be disheartened. *If it could do the same in this quarter, it would be served better than it may expect,* and an opportunity would be afforded me of demonstrating with honour my anxious zeal and inclination towards it. Whatever may be the event of affairs in the capital, it is evident that *I shall be the object of persecution; and as I have dedicated myself entirely to your nation,* I hope that it will feel a pride in protecting me, and assisting me in such a manner as may enable me to defend my person and property, and accomplish those services which I feel the greatest inclination to render."

During this negociation Ali took advantage of the opportunity it afforded of attempting to engage Mr. Adair in a promise of co-operating with him in the reduction of Parga: that gentleman, however, not only contrived to elude so disgraceful a compact, but very adroitly prevented the vizir from attempting it alone and unassisted. As soon as the preliminaries of peace were signed, Ali dispatched an envoy named Seid Achmet Effendi to England, to enhance as much as possible the services of his master. These indeed were considered so important, that by way of acknowledgment a fine park of artillery, with several hundreds of the newly-invented Congreve rockets, were sent to him in a transport: Major Leake, who had the care of this artillery, was ordered to remain, to teach his Albanian troops the use of it, and to act as English resident.

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Ali now publicly espoused the interests of Great Britain, opened his ports to our merchants or cruisers, and granted supplies on the most liberal terms for our navy, and for the armies in Spain and Portugal. Availing himself of this alliance and the co-operation of our blockading squadron, which prevented the French or Russians from assisting his enemies, he began to attack them in good earnest. Another event soon occurred, in the autumn of 1809, which gave additional strength to his hopes, and energy to his measures: this was the expulsion of the French from four of the islands, which were consequently occupied by the English. At this time he was engaged in the siege of Berat, whose citadel, planted upon a lofty hill on the right bank of the river Apsus, was considered as impregnable: his general on this occasion was Omer Bey Vrioni, a bold and aspiring person, who had been banished from Berat by Ibrahim, had signalized himself in Egypt against the French, and had returned to Ioannina with great wealth: by him the siege was pressed with so much vigour, and the bombardment so kept up against the citadel and town from the opposite heights, whilst the garrison and inhabitants were so terrified by those newly invented instruments of destruction the Congreve rockets, under the direction of an English officer, that Ibrahim Pasha was obliged to capitulate, upon condition of retiring with his suite and treasures to Avlona. Ali, in his carriage, surrounded by his troops, waited on the left bank of the river till Ibrahim had passed over the bridge: he then entered and took possession of Berat, not only without the sanction, but even without the knowledge of the Porte. He thought proper however to send a dispatch to Constantinople, informing his sovereign that a great part of Upper Albania being in a state of revolt, and Ibrahim Pasha not

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only incapable, by reason of his age and other infirmities, to restore order, but lying under strong suspicions of attachment, first to the Russians, and lately to the French, he had thought proper to secure this important fortress with troops that could be relied on. He also sent large sums of money to be distributed among the members of the Divan, and thus procured not only pardon, but approbation from the Sultan, who conferred the government upon his son Mouchtar: the three tails however were not taken, as is usual in the case of losing a pashalic, from Ibrahim, whose character was held in high esteem. This success threw into the hands of Ali, not only the strongest fortress, but the finest province of Albania; for the great plain of Musakia is the very granary of the country. He at first used his victory with great moderation, lest the people, if persecuted, should join the standard of their former chief, the remembrance of whose virtues could not soon be eradicated from their minds.

Leaving this new acquisition in the hands of his faithful follower Usuff Araps, Ali returned speedily to his capital, that he might take every possible advantage of our success in the Ionian sea. During the bombardment of Santa Maura, he encamped opposite that island with a large force, anxious to find some opportunity of mingling in the affray, and urging his own claims to the occupation of the island: these he pressed vehemently after its surrender; but being unable to substantiate them, he deceived our commanders, by cunningly gaining permission to build some barracks for his soldiers; instead of which he threw up two strong fortresses, which commanded the entrances of the channel.

But though Ali could neither gain from his British allies possession of the island, nor persuade them at this

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time to drive the French out of Parga, that he might occupy that fortress, he did not think it his interest to show any signs of ill-humour: he still had a great game to play, in which no ally could assist him like England. He was placed in a very advantageous position between the great rival powers, and he was determined to make the most of it: five of the islands were under the protection of the British, and two under that of the French; the former courting his assistance, and the latter dreading his enmity. In this conjuncture of circumstances he played his cards admirably, encouraging us to blockade Corfu under promise of co-operation, while he took advantage of its distress to introduce provisions secretly, for his own gain and profit: forging letters of correspondence between the French generals and Ibrahim Pasha, or the rulers of other states upon the coast of Albania, he easily procured the assistance of our naval commanders in all his enterprises; whilst those hardy and warlike tribes who had hitherto resisted his aggressions, because their own valour had been seconded by the power which possessed the Ionian Isles, finding their succours from thence cut off, and their offers of devotion rejected, were obliged to surrender unconditionally to his arms, or run the chance of war and extermination. Amongst those who chose the former alternative, was Pronio Agà of Paramithia, and the famous Hassan Zapari of Margariti; both of whom, after capitulation, were thrown into a dungeon at Ioannina, where probably they perished. The Kimarriots, descended from the ancient Chaonians, and the bravest people of Epirus, defended their rugged mountains to the last extremity, fighting sword in hand with little intermission for three successive days, after they had expended their ammunition. Ali however had gained possession of their principal village, called Vouno, by his old art of

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bribery,* and falling upon the rear of these warriors, cut the greatest part of them to pieces: the country then surrendered, and the vizir having garrisoned its strong holds, carried off 250 hostages for the peaceable conduct of the inhabitants: he afterwards thought proper to wreak his vengeance upon this unfortunate tribe, banishing them to various parts of his dominions, and burning all their villages to the ground, except one named Cutzi, containing about a hundred Greek families, whom he permitted to remain, upon condition of their conversion to the faith of Mahomet. The great protector of the Kimarriots in former wars had been Giaffer Pasha of Avlona, a man of talent and reputation, whose death Ali procured by poison, in a bath at St. Sophia.

It was during these operations, in the spring of 1810, that Mr. G. Foresti arrived at Ioannina, in character of English resident, whose services to this country during the time he held so delicate and even dangerous an appointment, have been such as no one can appreciate who is not acquainted with the difficulties he had to encounter. A Greek by birth and endowed with the sagacity of his nation, possessing the advantages of a liberal education, wary cautious and indefatigable in labour, intimately acquainted with the character of the vizir, he never ceased to penetrate his designs, avert his indignation, and keep him constant in that line of policy which ultimately contributed to preserve Europe from the degrading yoke of French tyranny. Nor was his situation by any means an enviable one: many incautious promises, which it was

* It was put into his hands by means of four brothers of the name of Casnezzi, who resided for some years afterwards in great distinction at Ioannina: when however Ali thought proper to lay waste Kimarra, he deprived these men of all their wealth, and threw them, with their wives and families, into prison, and thus he generally served the traitors whom he had employed.

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impossible to perform, had been made to Ali by our agents, for securing his support; and there were not wanting persons who gladly took advantage of such cases to prejudice the vizir's mind against the English minister. That gentleman however having adopted a plan of general forbearance, and of inflexibility when necessary, defeated every attempt made to counteract his influence with the pasha; and though he constantly exhibited a desire of bettering the condition of his own country, as well as of guarding strictly the interests of that which he had the honour to serve, he continued to possess greater influence over the mind of this extraordinary potentate than was ever exercised by any other human being.

In this year Ali escaped the greatest of all the dangers with which he had been threatened: this was no less than a plan of operations concerted between the French generals, and sanctioned by the Porte, to attack him with a force from Corfu aided by a large corps under Marmont from Dalmatia. Nothing but our success in Spain, which called off the enemy to that quarter, preserved him from destruction: the French however never totally gave up the plan, and would have made the attempt from Corfu alone, but for the intervention of a British fleet.

Poor Ibrahim Pasha had been implicated in the formation of this enterprise, and was now left alone to resist the attack of his irritated and powerful adversary. Ali besieged him so closely in Avlona, while two English frigates blockaded the port against the introduction of supplies from the French, that Ibrahim fled with a few of his principal followers, in disguise, to the mountains of Arberi or Liapurià: but he was soon betrayed, and conducted by his captor in a kind of mock triumph to the city of Konitza; from whence, after the lapse of a year, he

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was brought to Ioannina, and there this venerable old man, the father-in-law of Ali's two sons, was to be seen like a wild beast through the iron bars of his dungeon. Nothing could exceed the Sultan's indignation at this treatment of a man for whom he entertained a singular affection: but, shaken as the empire had lately been by insurrections of Janissaries, revolts of provinces, and Russian triumphs, he was obliged to conceal his chagrin, and endeavour to draw Ali into his power by inviting him to join the army of the Grand Vizir which was then in Bulgaria. The old fox however was too cunning to leave his cover; and urging the plea of increasing infirmities, dispatched Vely, and "Dark Mouchtar his son to the Danube," with their contingency of troops, and a faithful tatar to Constantinople with what was most likely to appease the resentment of the divan.

The Pasha of Delvino, with the chiefs of Liapurià, Argyro-Castro, and Gardiki, alarmed at the storm which they saw gathering around them, speedily assembled their forces, which were attacked and defeated by Ali in the plains near Delvino: he then entered and took possession of that place, making prisoners two sons of Mustafà whom he sent to Ioannina and confined in a convent of the island: there these unfortunate youths languished in close custody at the time of our residence, shut out from every consolation of society, and deprived of the sight of all human beings except their gaolers. Two others made their escape to Corfu where they were soon assassinated by an emissary of the vizir, whose bouyourdee was found in the villain's pocket, who confessed the fact before his execution: Mustafà himself retired to Gardiki, and thus deferred the fate which ultimately awaited him. The great city of Argyro-Castro next surrendered after a short

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conflict, upon condition of becoming a chiflick; and the whole valley of the Druno, the richest and most populous in all Albania, fell under the vizir's subjection. No place now remained for him to conquer except Gardiki: this had first offended him; and upon this he purposed to pour the vial of his wrath to the very dregs. He might indeed have taken it long before, but he was determined first to subdue all the states around, that its citizens might be thus enclosed, as it were, in a net, without the possibility of escape.

Gardiki, whose population was entirely Mahometan, surmounted a fine conical hill in an amphitheatre of the most splendid mountain scenery. Its constitution was a species of republic, each family sending a representative to the council, out of which thirteen members were chosen by vote to form the executive government: their office was annual, and they had power of life and death, though it was necessary for eight of them to concur in cases of capital condemnation. No person was allowed to carry arms within the city walls, and a murderer not only forfeited his life to the state, but also his property, both personal and real, to the family of his victim.

The Gardikiotes well knowing what they had to expect from the resentment of their ancient foe, prepared for a vigorous defence; giving the command of their troops, among which were many chiefs and distinguished officers of other clans, to Demir Dosti, a general of consummate prudence and courage, and a descendant of that very person who had rescued Ali's mother and sister from the shameful treatment of his fellow citizens. The vizir's army was commanded by two of his most experienced officers, Usuff Araps and Omer Bey; and was so large, that five hundred horse-loads of calamboci were distributed daily to the troops.

For a long time operations went on very slowly; since

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the vizir's own generals, aware of his vindictive intentions, and willing to spare a population of the same religious faith, dispatched messenger after messenger to their master, representing the extreme difficulty of storming the place, and requesting for the Gardikiotes the same terms of capitulation as were accepted by Argyro-Castro: but Ali penetrated their designs, and determined to counteract them: accordingly, sending for Athanasi Vayà, that military officer upon whom he could most rely, he dispatched him to the army with a large body of Greek and Albanian troops, instructing him to act promptly in combination with all the other Greeks of the army. Athanasi on his arrival assembled together certain officers, showed them the vizir's bouyourdee couched in the strongest terms, attached them to his own forces, and without any communication with the Turkish generals, led them sword in hand against Gardiki. He first carried a large farm house at the bottom of the hill which had been converted into a strong out-post; from whence he drove its defenders up a steep and narrow path leading towards the city, in which they took refuge, as well as in a small fortress which commanded the ascent. The Greeks animated by their leader, and joyful at an opportunity of exterminating a Mahometan tribe, pushed boldly on, forced the citadel, and soon gained possession of the city itself, which was given up to all the horrors of an assault. Among the prisoners were Mustafà Pasha, Demir Dosti, and a great train of beys and agàs: these were sent immediately under a strong escort to Ioannina, whither they were brought in a species of mock triumph and treated at first with peculiar kindness; a refinement in cruelty which was not unusual with Ali when he wished to make his victims feel more keenly a reverse of fortune. The other citizens were distributed among the neighbour-

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ing towns and villages, which became answerable for their appearance under dreadful penalties; while the unfortunate females, they who least deserved it, became conversant with calamity in its most frightful forms: after having been subjected to the brutal passions of the soldiery, they were conducted to that fiend in human shape, Shaïnitza, at her palace in Libochobo: there, when they had been again exposed to every insult that is degrading to female purity, their beautiful flowing hair was cut off close to their heads before that sanguinary monster, who first stamped it contemptuously under foot, and then ordered it to be stuffed into the divan upon which her unwieldly form was accustomed to repose: nay, so implacable was her fury, that when one of her own women was said to be pregnant by a Gardikiote husband, she ordered the miserable creature to be thrown upon the floor, and cut the infant reeking from her womb with a razor! These innocent but unfortunate victims of inhuman cruelty were afterwards turned out destitute upon the mountains, the penalty of death having been proclaimed against any one who should harbour or relieve them.

A few weeks afterwards Ali, at the head of a large body of troops, paid his sister a visit of congratulation upon the satisfaction made to her violated honour; and we may well suppose that the storm of vengeance raging in his bosom was not allayed by the soothing entreaties of feminine compassion. Before he left Ioannina he gave orders that all the Gardikiote beys should be closely confined in the monasteries of the island, while secret instructions concerning them were left with his agents. Having passed from his residence at Libochobo to the fort of Schindriada near Argyro-Castro, he commanded all the prisoners to be brought, on a certain day and hour, into the court of a large han called Valierè at the commencement

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of the Gardikiote territory: thither he proceeded at the appointed time with about 3000 of his troops. Being seated in his carriage at the gate, each person was called out separately before him; and when he had minutely investigated his age, parentage and profession, he ordered a few to be carried into a place of security; those probably whose families had settled at Gardiki after the insult took place which he was about to revenge: but after he had spoken to the rest with an affected tone of great kindness, reminding many of times past, and even of adventures which they had shared together in early youth, he remanded them into the court of the han: he then ordered his troops to advance, who were well aware of the service upon which they were about to be employed: but the Mahometans refused to stir; even the Miridites, who are of the Latin Church, murmured and remonstrated with him upon his intent of employing them to murder unarmed men.—"We receive your pay," said their chief, "and are ready to fight for you: restore their arms to these Gardikiotes and let us attack them in fair combat—for we are your soldiers, not your executioners." Ali at these words turned pale, and became alarmed for the consequences, when Athanasi Vayà, the infamous and ready instrument of his base designs, led up his Greek troops, who eagerly mounted the walls which surrounded the area wherein the prisoners were enclosed. Ali took a musket from the hands of a soldier, and having ordered the han gates to be thrown open, discharged the first shot into the crowd of victims, who set up one piercing shriek of astonishment and horror: this was the signal for a general massacre; the surrounding troops fired among them till their ammunition was expended; then others succeeded and continued the work of death, whilst the wretched victims struck by the balls precipitated them-

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selves over each other to avoid the mortal blow. The fury of despair ministered arms to some, who, with stones torn from the pavement and walls, wounded many of their destroyers: others retreated into one of the apartments of the han, to which fire was immediately applied, and those who escaped the volleys of musketry fell a sacrifice to the flames. In the mean time, a few having burst out of the area, came in despair and flung themselves at the feet of the vizir and cried for mercy in accents that might have moved a heart of flint; but Ali's heart was harder; for he ordered his chaoushes and kaivasis to cut the imploring suppliants in pieces with their ataghans before his face. The bloody work being thus completed, the bodies, amounting to between seven and eight hundred, were left unburied, to rot upon the spot where they had fallen: the gateway of the area was then walled up, and an inscription placed over it cut in stone, which signifies, THUS PERISH ALL THE ENEMIES OF ALI'S HOUSE.*

On the very day of this butchery, the beys who had been left at Ioannina to the number of seventy-two, were brought to a convent on the island opposite Mitzikeli, where they were all strangled, their bodies conveyed in boats to the opposite shore, and buried at the foot of the mountain. From the han Ali proceeded with his troops to the once flourishing city, which he laid in ruins, placing it under an anathema, and prohibiting it from ever again becoming the habitation of man during the continuance of his dy-

* An Albanian poet afterwards wrote a long inscription in Romaic verse, which with Ali's sanction was placed over the door of this han. The whole transaction may be compared with one related by his biographer of the deified Augustus. "Perusia capta, in plurimos animadvertit; orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens MORIENDUM ESSE. Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dedititiis electos utriusque ordinis, ad aram Divo Julio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos."

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nasty in Albania. The property of its citizens he had before converted to his own use; and as they were great merchants, he kept an accurate account of all the debts found due to them, and exacted punctual payment. This then was the fate of Gardiki: its walls demolished, its policy dissolved, its riches dispersed and its people massacred, it has become a dwelling place for owls, and the coiled serpent basks within its desolated courts.

Every citizen of Gardiki subsequently discovered in the dominions of Ali was arrested and put to death, his corpse being sent to augment the mouldering heap at the han of Valierè. The vizir was grievously offended with his son Vely, who refused to destroy some Gardikiotes in his service or give them up to his father's wrath. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that Ali gloried in this deed, which he considered one of just and pious retribution. It occurred on the 15th of March, 1812.

When the vizir returned to Ioannina, he gratified a revenge, not less bitter from its being protracted, upon his old antagonist Mustafà Pasha of Delvino, confining him in the same convent with his two sons, and gradually starving him to death; one small piece of calamboci bread and one draught of water being his daily fare. His body was then publicly exposed in presence of the cadi and mufti, as is customary on the death of a pasha, to see if it bears any mark of violence: a report was spread that he had died a natural death; but this was little credited at Constantinople. A few months after this horrid murder, his cruelty, or his policy, demanded another sacrifice; and the destined victim was no other than the venerable Ibrahim: however, before he ventured to imbrue his hands in the blood of this respectable personage, he thought it necessary to discover whether such a deed were likely to excite the indignation of the Porte: in order therefore to

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sound the feelings of the Divan, he devised the following plan. On a certain day Ibrahim Pasha disappeared from his apartment in the tower: the messenger, who was sent every morning by his daughters to inquire after their father's health, came back and reported the circumstance, adding that he had made all possible inquiries without being able to discover his abode: the daughters hearing this, and feeling convinced that their father had been secretly destroyed, set up the death-howl, in which they were joined by the slaves of their harems as well as by the women of the adjoining mansions: from thence the cry was spread from house to house, and the whole city rang with lamentations during three days for this imaginary death of Ibrahim.

Among other persons deceived was the venerable Dervish Joussouf, skeik or chief of a Teké in Ioannina, whom even Ali himself could not help respecting for his virtues and austerity of life. Indignant at the supposed murder of Ibrahim, who had been his intimate friend, he proceeded instantly to the serai, pushed aside the guards, and burst into the presence of the trembling despot. I have before alluded to the audacity with which this class of men used to beard the Lion of Ioannina, though not always in so good a cause as that which now animated the venerable Joussouf. At the sight of his aged monitor, Ali, who suspected the cause of his visit, rose from the divan with great humility, and moving towards him would have placed him upon one of its cushions; but the dervish regarding him with a fixed look of displeasure, raised his arm and motioned him to be reseated: then addressing him as a judge might lecture a criminal, he ran over a list of his most enormous crimes, concluding it with the following awful admonitions. "The very carpet on which I stand is moistened by the tears of thy miserable subjects: sit upon thy sofa indeed! is it not stained with the

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blood of thy murdered brothers? Have not the weapons on these thy walls been blunted on the skulls of Suliots and Kimarriotes, whose errors our religion teaches us to deplore as long as they submit to our authority? Do I not behold from this very window the tomb of Ermineh, that virtuous wife of whom thou wert the murderer?" Here the awe-struck despot gasped for breath and made signs to stop his severe monitor; but in vain. "Do I not behold," said he, "that fatal lake into which thou didst precipitate seventeen innocent matrons,* and which daily opens like the jaws of hell to devour the victims of thy insatiable fury? Has not thy sister, that daughter of Belial, emulating thee in crime, profaned our most sacred laws, in tearing off their veils from the Gardikiote women? Has she not torn—I see thee shudder!—has she not torn an innocent victim reeking from the womb of one of her own women, because a Gardikiote was its father? Wretch! thou shalt for once hear the truth: thou canst not stir a step out of thy palace without walking over the grave of some being, created in God's image, whom thou hast sent out of the world, to stand and accuse thee before his throne. Thou livest in the midst of luxury and pomp, surrounded by detestable flatterers, the panders of thy vices; and time, that marks every child of Adam with the ineffaceable seal of age, has not yet taught thee that thou art mortal, and that a day shall come"—"Stop, stop, my father," cried the vizir, "thou hast just pronounced the name of Ermineh—I adjure thee by her memory not to overwhelm me with the weight of thy malediction." The sheik did stop; and without uttering another word walked out of the apartment, shook the dust from off his feet against the accursed walls,

* His actual words are said to have been, "Quarum muliebria castiora fuerunt quam os liguriens tuum."

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and returned to his cell: he had done his duty, though without any hope of reforming the tyrant, whom he never again troubled, but left to the horrors of his own conscience and to divine justice.

The French consul having dispatched a courier with the intelligence of Ibrahim Pasha's death to his embassador at Constantinople, Ali's agents stopped him, read his dispatches and allowed him to proceed. The news occasioned a strong prejudice against Ali at the Porte: a council was called, and a capigi-bashee of the highest rank was sent to investigate the affair, and to bring back depositions from the great officers of religion and the law. The messenger arrived; and being introduced into Ali's presence surrounded by all his ministers, stated the object of his mission, and produced his credentials attested by the signet of the sultan. Ali affecting great surprise, exclaimed, "Dead! Ibrahim, my father, dead!" whilst all his divan followed him in expressions of incredulity and astonishment. Then turning to his two ministers, Mahomet and Sechri Effendi, he added; "Go and accompany this officer to the apartment of Ibrahim, and let him see what falsehoods have been circulated respecting us." Accordingly they went and found the object of their visit in the best apartment of the seraglio, surrounded by every thing which could minister to his comfort. Ibrahim being instructed in what to say, and threatened with the extremity of torture, if he should disclose the truth, requested the capigi-bashee to say to his lord the sultan—that he kissed the ground on which he trod, and was penetrated with the deepest gratitude for his kind inquiries; but that he was perfectly well, and more than content with his condition, being treated in the kindest manner by the vizir, and rendered happy in the society of his daughters and their children; that he

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felt himself now grown too old for the cares of government, and that his dominions could not possibly be under better administration than that of his dear friend Ali Pasha.

The capigi-bashee, having received this most unexpected answer, returned to the council-room, where he was thus addressed by the crafty vizir. "See, how I am surrounded by enemies! it is my misfortune always to excite suspicion, and to have my motives and actions misrepresented: this was the case lately, on the death of Mustafà Pasha; go therefore and report to my master the sultan all you have seen and heard, and assure him that Ali, in his old age, will not dishonour his grey hairs, nor act in opposition to the wishes of his sovereign." The capigi-bashee in the mean time was loaded with presents and magnificently entertained; but he was not allowed to be for a minute absent from Ali's satellites, who prevented the access of all who could have told him the truth: in like manner he was attended by a *guard of honour* to the very suburbs of Constantinople, where he gave a report of Ali's conduct, which procured for him a letter of thanks from the grand signor. Poor Ibrahim was then remanded to his solitary dungeon, where a few months after this scene he had the mortification of hearing the sound of the festivities which enlivened Ioannina upon the marriage of his grand-daughter, the lovely Aïtschà, with Moustaï Pasha of Scodra; but the unfortunate old man was not allowed even to give her a parting blessing.

The Vizir now seized the opportunity of retaliating upon the Consul-general for his interference, and interdicted all his subjects, except those who were employed as spies, from entering into his dwelling: thus, in the midst of a large capital, Mr. Pouqueville lived in a species

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of the most distressing solitude. To speak the truth, Ali had more reason for this conduct and for his irritation against the French, than for many other of his acts. A regular system had been for some time, and still continued to be carried on, between Monsieur Andreossy French minister at the Porte, the Duc de Bassano at Paris, and General Denzelot at Corfu, with the Consul-general of Albania, to create every species of annoyance in their power against him, to stir up rebellion in his own country, or hostility from without, and especially to represent him in his true character at Constantinople, with the intention of drawing down upon his head the vengeance of insulted majesty. All this was well known; for not a single courier did Mr. Pouqueville send from Ioannina who was not arrested: not a single dispatch did he write that was not copied for the vizir, who possessed the key of his cipher. Nor was the knowledge inconsiderable which our own ambassador at the Porte gained of what was going on around him, from Ioannina; between which place and Constantinople couriers were constantly passing: and thence he became acquainted with the most secret resolutions of the Divan itself, inaccessible to any other attempt. The value of such intelligence at the critical period of Buonaparte's invasion of Russia, and the breaking up of his enormous power, may readily be conceived. At length the Porte, irritated by the deceitful conduct of Ali during the whole of his eventful life, and fully aware of his interested and rebellious system of policy, entertained serious ideas, in the year 1813, of attacking him in his strong holds. But, not to compromise its character by attempting what it might not be able to effect, commissioners were sent to inspect his country, and to make a return of his forces, his military and naval

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stores, his castles, fortresses and garrisons: all of which were freely offered to inspection.

He was at first alarmed by these demonstrations of energy, and assured a Greek gentleman of my acquaintance that he would defend himself to the last extremity, and then blow himself up in his serai of Litaritza, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. Things however were not yet likely to arrive at this pass; he had made himself too useful to his English allies, and was considered likely to be too efficient in their cause, to be neglected when he had need of assistance: it was thought therefore that the representations of our ambassador to the Divan had no little influence in averting this storm. The arrival of a secretary from the English embassy, a short time before our visit to Ioannina, was considered intimately connected with these arrangements; and this, amongst other things, contributed probably to the marked civility which we received.

The only military exploit of any consequence which crowned Ali's arms this year was the conquest of Margariti and the consequent reduction of Tzamouriá: during our residence in his capital those great events occurred which led to the destruction of Buonaparte's authority, and the ultimate removal of the French from the Albanian confines. He knew that the English would soon either by force or treaty occupy the remainder of the Ionian islands, and he was now very anxious to take advantage of the declining state of French affairs, and to gain possession of Parga, that single solitary rock, which alone, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, was illuminated by the rays of liberty. Having failed however in the alluring temptations which he held out to Monsieur Pouqueville and General Denzelot, he deter-

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mined upon one of those prompt movements which were so habitual to him; feeling little doubt but that if he should once gain possession of the place, he could find means to justify his conduct or appease resentment. Unauthorized then by his government, which at this time was at peace with France, and without any declaration of war, he moved that overwhelming force against unhappy Parga, to which I have before alluded: at the same time he ordered his flotilla to aid in the siege, and intercept all the inhabitants that might endeavour to escape to the islands: these directions, however, were rendered nugatory by the spirited conduct of some English cruisers, who refused to let his vessels approach. Still more were his plans counteracted by a secret influence, which he could not divine, much less controul; an influence which in more instances than this, was exerted for the prevention, as well as the alleviation, of those miseries which his ruthless ambition or his deadly revenge was sure to bring upon those who were the objects of either.

On the 28th of February 1814 Ali's troops, under the command of Omer Bey Vrione, carried by assault Ajà and Rapesa, two frontier villages of the Parghiot territory, putting to death many of the inhabitants, and sending the remainder into a slavery worse than death; after which a small fort was erected and the army advanced upon Parga: but the French garrison retired into the citadel; the only resistance being made by the bravery of the inhabitants. These marched out with exultation to the defence of their country, accompanied even by their women and children, who handed ammunition and loaded the muskets of their husbands and parents. The contest was neither long nor sanguinary; for the Parghiots having the advantage of ground and shelter, effec-

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tually checked the vizir's troops, especially his cavalry, as they charged up a narrow causeway leading to the city; so that they were obliged to retreat after losing several of their companions, and among them one of Ali's near relations: the body of this young man was buried on the frontier, and a mausoleum erected over it, where the Vizir resolved, if he took the place either by storm or capitulation, to immolate his adversaries in what he would have called an expiatory sacrifice.

Notwithstanding this victory, the poor Parghiotes had sufficient cause to tremble, while such numerous and active enemies remained near ther borders, and their defenders were so inert in their behalf: they had still farther reason for alarm, when they discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on between their inveterate foe and the commandant of the French garrison. In this dilemma they dispatched a message to Captain Garland, who had lately taken possession of the little island of Paxo, and requested to be received under British protection. This was referred to General Campbell, the governor of the Ionian isles, who immediately dispatched the Honourable Sir C. Gordon with a force sufficient to take advantage of any favourable circumstances. Captain Hoste of the Bacchante frigate, and Captain Black of the Havannah, met this officer at Paxo, and entered into consultation respecting the proper measures to be pursued; when it certainly does appear to have been determined that if the Parghiotes would, as of their own accord, disarm the French garrison and give guarantees for the sincerity of their intentions, they should be taken under British protection and follow the fate of the Ionian islands.*

* "The fortress of Parga is considered as an appendage of the Government of the Seven Ionian Islands, and more particularly as an outwork of the

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To these conditions the Parghiotes cheerfully consented, and secretly organized a plot for taking possession of the citadel. An English flag, concealed under the girdle of a boy, was brought into the fortress without exciting suspicion; a signal was given, by the ringing of a bell, to the conspirators, who rushed forwards, dis-

garrison of Corfu towards the Turkish frontier. In consequence of its situation on the main land of Greece, its commanding position as a place of strength, and the increased preponderancy which the possession of it would not fail to throw into the hands of the Turks, and more particularly the visir Ali Pasha of Ioannina, whose pashalic surrounds it, it has ever been an object of much jealousy with those powers, who have made many efforts to obtain a footing in Parga; and, vice versâ, for these same motives, it has been equally the wise policy of the powers occupying the Seven Islands, and Corfu in particular, to maintain firmly their hold of that fortress and its territory." These are General Campbell's Instructions to Lieut. Brutton, who commanded at Parga in May 1815, and General Campbell was the officer and High Commissioner with whom the Parghiotes treated for the surrender of their country to the British flag. See Col. de Bosset upon Parga, p. 90. The main point upon which this question turns, is the compact, made or implied, between General Campbell and the Parghiotes, respecting their surrender to the British flag. If their surrender was conditional, as the instructions of that officer above quoted seem to prove, it will follow that our delivering up Parga to Ali Pasha was unjust, and it will not be enough to say that no mention was made of Parga in the treaties of Paris or Vienna. Turks alone would justify such a proceeding by such an argument. If the surrender of the Parghiotes was unconditional, I still think the measures pursued were cruel and impolitic; cruel, because the inhabitants did not receive full compensation for their property, and could receive none for the rupture of moral ties and associations; impolitic, because the tide of feeling among the inhabitants of the Levant was thereby turned against Great Britain; because some port on the Epirotic coast is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the Ionian Islands; and because Ali Pasha, so far from having a claim upon Parga, was rather bound to restore all the other continental dependencies to their original constitution, since he, in the name of the Ottoman Porte, so inhumanly violated the treaty of March 1800; above all, because a Christian power is thus exhibited to the world as yielding up the rights of Christians to an infidel tyrant, rights which the very name of that power could have defended, and whose flag waving upon the fortress of Parga would have been a sufficient protection.

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armed the centinels, seized upon the rest of the garrison, and hoisted the British standard in place of the tri-coloured flag. Only one man lost his life in this almost bloodless conspiracy, a Cephalonian in the French service, and commissary of police; who thrusting his head out of a window, and exhorting his comrades to blow up the magazine, was instantly shot. The inhabitants being now in full possession of the place, Sir Charles Gordon landed with a detachment of British troops from the Bacchante, sent off the French garrison to Corfu, and took possession of the place on the 22d of March, 1814. When news of this arrangement was carried to Ali at Prevesa, where he was hourly expecting intelligence of the occupation of Parga by his own troops, his indignation was so roused, that for a time none of his attendants dare approach him. In that state, as he was raging like a chafed lion, Mr. Foresti and Mr. Pouqueville Junr. had an interview with him; the one endeavouring to sooth him, and to palliate the interference of his government; the other violently upbraiding him for his attack upon a friendly power, and threatening him with its vengeance: the scene must have been very curious.

The subsequent history of this unhappy state is as difficult to handle, as it is painful to dwell upon: for the Englishman who records its annals finds himself constantly perplexed by an apparent breach of faith and violation of a compact, which is complained of, whether justly or unjustly, by the Parghiotes; whilst he has need of extreme caution to prevent his involving innocent parties with the guilty, and to guide him in affixing blame where blame is due. Notwithstanding this, the duty of an historian, when undertaken, must be impartially fulfilled.

Under the powerful ægis of Great Britain, Parga re-

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mained for about three years comparatively happy, increasing in wealth and population, although the mention of its name was omitted in the treaties of Vienna and Paris, which consigned to English protection the Septinsular republic. Strange rumours however were soon set afloat, highly calculated to disturb the tranquillity of its citizens; but they were still unable to believe that a Christian power, so noted for its integrity, would give them up to their bloody and inveterate enemy: under this conviction their devoted attachment to their protectors was shown in every mode that a grateful, industrious, and moral people, like the Parghiotes, could possibly devise:* but whoever has perused the foregoing

* General Campbell, in his instructions to Lieut. Brutton, gives the following testimony to their character. "The inhabitants are Albanian Greeks, extremely tenacious of their freedom, and of the liberty of their small community, and habitually adverse to the dominion of the Turks. They are a spirited and independent people, though at the same time docile and easy of command when treated liberally and justly; and all the male population are trained to arms, and expert in the use of them."

Colonel Leake's opinion of the Parghiotes is equally favourable. See Researches in Greece, p. 418. That of Colonel de Bosset is thus expressed: nor had any one ever a better opportunity of discovering their character than himself. "The state of hostility which has always prevailed between the Parguinotes and the Turks, has rendered them brave, and has familiarized them to arms and dangers; they are temperate, and commonly attain an advanced age. The women of Parga are generally handsome, and chaste, though they enjoy the greatest degree of social freedom: their dress is a jacket of cloth or silk, embroidered or trimmed with gold, with a long plaited petticoat. The hair is entwined with a double cord of red silk, and gracefully fastened up behind.

"They are hospitable, and one of the reasons for which Ali Pasha hates them and wishes to possess their country, is, that it afforded an asylum to the victims of his tyranny. Many examples might be adduced of their hospitality. The protection which they afforded to the unhappy Suliotes who had escaped the sword of Ali, would alone establish their reputation for this virtue.

"Within these few years the inhabitants of that region have been torn from

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history of Ali Pasha, will be prepared to believe that his ambitious mind would not rest quietly when disappointed in a design which lay nearest to his heart. His gold proved in this, as in many other instances, all-powerful at Constantinople: Parga was demanded by the Porte as the price of her acquiescence in our occupation of the Ionian isles; and a secret treaty consigned over to Mahometan despotism the last little spot of ancient Greece which had remained unpolluted by her infidel conquerors.

An article however was inserted in the treaty, which provided that every person who emigrated should be remunerated for the loss of his property; and if these terms had been fairly and strictly adhered to, the Parghiotes would not have had so much apparent reason to accuse their protectors of adding injustice to a cruel policy. The resolution of the high contracting powers was not communicated to this people before the month of March, 1817: it was then announced to them by the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian islands through the medium of Lieut. Col. de Bosset, with whom a reinforcement of three hundred British troops was sent, to repress all commotions, and secure the garrison from danger. It is but justice to that excellent officer to say that in this delicate situation, obliged by military duty to fulfil his orders, and urged by a natural generosity to

the land of their birth and transported to remote countries, without succour, without means of subsistence, and a great proportion of them have been already destroyed by sickness, want, and despair."

These accounts of the character of the Parghiotes were amply confirmed to me when I visited their country, by that excellent officer the Hon. Sir Charles Gordon, under whose government the people appeared to enjoy as great a degree of rational civil liberty, supported by firmness, and dignified by urbanity, as I ever recollect witnessing in any settlement occupied by the British arms.

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give ear to the pathetic remonstrances and despairing resolves of the miserable suppliants, he shaped his course in such a manner as to entitle him to the praise of the good and virtuous, the approbation of his own conscience, and the lasting gratitude of the unfortunate Parghiotes.

Considerable pains were taken in persuading this people to transfer allegiance to that intriguing foe who wished to become their sovereign; but in vain: a thorough knowledge of his character, acquired by an experience of thirty years, saved them from this extremity of calamity. With one voice they resolved, if the decree against their beloved country was irrevocable, to beg their bread in foreign lands rather than be butchered in cold blood by a tyrant who had sworn to sacrifice every Parghiot to his implacable revenge: and who that has perused these pages will be surprised at their resolution? Under such circumstances Colonel de Bosset ordered an estimate to be taken of public and of private property. This amounted, on a very moderate calculation, to more than 500,000 pounds, a very small pittance for a well-built city* containing near 4000 inhabitants, and villages peopled with many more, in a tract of the most fertile territory that can be imagined, within a circuit of twenty miles, enriched with 81,000 olive trees, from which the finest oil in the Levant was made, and exported on the most advantageous terms.

With this sum however the poor inhabitants professed themselves satisfied, and consented to be transported from the land of their birth, the sepulchres of their forefathers, the edifices of their religious worship, and all those sweet associations which render the name of our

* The Author has resided in Parga, and here speaks generally from observation.

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country so sacred. The Pasha however was not quite so contented; as he thought it very hard to pay any thing at all for a place which he always affected to consider his own by right of promise. Agents therefore were sent to him at Ioannina, who entered into a long and tedious negotiation, which was studiously protracted by Ali, for the purpose of gaining time and watching any opportunity that might occur for seizing his unguarded prey. In the mean time the poor victims had been deprived of their best friend: Colonel de Bosset, being considered an unfit agent in these transactions, was relieved from his post, and departed for England: other commissioners were appointed to value the property of the Parghiotes; Ali poured his troops round their frontiers, and exerted every nerve to gain possession of the place by endeavouring to sow dissensions, to poison the water and bread of the inhabitants, to introduce a number of his adherents into the city by stratagem, and to terrify the people by the most horrid threats and menaces of vengeance unless they submitted to his authority. All these efforts however were rebutted by their constancy and vigilance: but being in daily expectation of seeing their country delivered over to their persecutor, they neglected either to sow the ground, or to engage in commercial speculations; so that in addition to the rest of their miseries, famine and want began to stare them in the face. In this state of distress, augmented to the utmost by Ali's agents, who prohibited all supplies wherever his authority extended, the ministers of religion, joined by the primates, set a noble example of patriotism and liberality for the relief of their suffering brethren; by which means a supply of corn, though scanty, was procured.

At length appeared the new valuation of property, for which a sum less than 150,000*l.* sterling was deemed an

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equivalent!* This was about one third of the former valuation, and was procured by the exertion of every species of chicanery. Hamed Bey, the vizir's commissioner, made now a last effort to induce the citizens to remain in the town, declaring that they should enjoy complete liberty and security: but when urged both by the English and Parghiots to put his name and seal to this declaration, he refused to do so, and would give no explanation: at length after further delays, during which all remonstrances were answered by threats, when the inhabitants had been twice called before the commissioners and ordered one by one to declare their final resolution, and a mournful appeal to the British parliament had been made in vain, preparations were completed for the evacuation of Parga, which took place on the 10th of April, 1819, during the festival of Easter.

The concluding details of this mournful history are very affecting. By the Lord High Commissioner's order, it was signified to the inhabitants, that arrangements were made for a Turkish force to enter their territory without delay; but that English troops would remain

* This valuation was, I believe, made between British and Albanian commissioners alone! and no Parghiot was allowed a voice in what so intimately concerned his interests. If a fair estimate had been made of Parghiot property, I know enough to say, that Ali never would have become the purchaser. Will any traveller in Greece, or any other person acquainted with the subject, say that 81,000 of the finest olive trees in the world (as the district in which Parga is situated is called Elaiatis by Thucydides, *κατ' ἐξόχην*, for the abundance and excellence of these trees) are not alone worth more than the whole sum given by Ali Pasha for the Parghiote territory? This I will venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that the *gathering* of the fruit alone in an abundant season is worth more than was given for the trees. "An acre planted with vines or *olives*, however arid or rocky the soil may be, will very easily be made worth ten times as much as an acre of the richest corn land." Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iii. p. 138.

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for their protection until the emigration was completed. On receiving this intimation, which was confirmed by the appearance of a large Albanian army, the Parghiotes, having held a consultation, sent to inform the commandant, in answer to such determination of the British government, that should one single Turk enter their territory before all of them had a fair opportunity of quitting it, they would put to death their wives and children, and defend themselves to the last extremity against any force, Turkish or Christian, that should violate the solemn pledge which had been given them.

The English commandant, perceiving by their preparations that this resolution was fixed, dispatched information of it to the Lord High Commissioner, who instantly sent to *expostulate* with the Parghiotes. When the British officers arrived at Parga, the inhabitants were disinterring the bones of their ancestors from the churches and cemeteries, and burning or burying them in secret places to prevent their profanation by the Turks. The primates, with the protopapas at their head, assured the officers that the meditated sacrifice would be immediately executed, unless they could stop the entrance of the Turks who had already arrived near the frontier, and effectually protect their embarkation. This appeared to be no idle threat, and fortunately means were found which prevailed with the Albanian commandant to halt his forces: in the mean time the Glasgow frigate, which had been sent from Corfu, having arrived, the embarkation commenced: and then this brave people knelt down to kiss for the last time the land which gave them birth, and watered it with their tears: some of them carried away a handful of the soil, to be a solace in their misfortunes, an inheritance to their children, a memento of their wrongs, and a stimulus to the recovery of their

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country: others took for the same purpose a small portion of those sacred ashes, which had been once animated by the spirits of their forefathers, and many carried away the bones which they had not time to burn. When the bands of Ali Pasha reached the walls, all was solitude and silence. The city, as it has been observed, received its infidel garrison as Babylon or Palmyra salutes the Christian traveller in the desert—nothing breathed, nothing moved; the houses were desolate, the nation was extinct, the bones of the dead were almost consumed to ashes, whilst the only sign that living creatures had been there was the smoke slowly ascending from the funeral piles.*

* In the above details, written at the time of this sad transaction, I was, as now, uninfluenced by any party feelings, and unexcited by any motives to detraction. I was and still am totally unacquainted with the individuals connected, or supposed to be connected, with the cession of Parga, and no one, I think, who has read these pages, will accuse me of a desire to calumniate my country; a country whose constitution I venerate, and whose very soil I love; but he who loves his own country best will be most tender of the rights of others, and I own I was anxious that every shadow of reproach should vanish from the name of that country amongst foreign nations, and that its ancient character for honour and generosity should have been preserved inviolate: having moreover been a resident upon the rock of Parga and also resident in Albania, when the tyrant, whose history I have undertaken to portray, made his first attempts against that republic, I felt called upon to detail fearlessly and impartially every circumstance of this unfortunate case, upon the authenticity of which I could rely. I presumed not to blame any individual, I wished not to exasperate any party; but I wished earnestly to impress upon a government which I thought ready to correct any oversight in its political measures, the necessity of inquiring strictly and impartially into the conduct of its agents: it is very easy to oppress the oppressed, and it is certain that the whole continent rang with exclamations, not more at the decrees made against Parga, than at the extreme *harshness* with which those decrees were put into execution; a harshness very different from that *humanity* and *liberality* which appear so prominent in the speech of the Lord High Commissioner before the Legislative Assembly of the Ionian states, on the 7th of April, 1820. Let the reader weigh well in his mind the following

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The unfortunate exiles are now principally at Corfu and Paxo, no longer a nation, no longer united by the same public and private ties; but dependent for the most part on the charity of their countrymen, after having expended that miserable pittance which was called a compensation for the loss of property, natal soil, and social existence. The fierce and implacable tyrant of Albania triumphed in their ruin, and gloried in his success at having wrested this last tract of Christian land from the hands of Christians. "As we pursued our way," says an enlightened English traveller,* "over the Thessalian plains, the Albanians frequently burst forth into clamor-

paragraph, which appeared in the same paper with his Excellency's speech, and then say whether some inquiry upon this important subject, which compromised the honour of a great nation, would not have been proper.

"On the 23d of November last a notification on the part of Sir Thomas Maitland was made to the Parguinote emigrants who are still at Corfu, informing them that, *upon consideration*, his Excellency intended *to reimburse to them the deduction made for freightage of the money brought on board the English frigate Ganymede*, Captain Spenser, from Prevesa to Corfu, *and other expenses;* but that he should expect from them, after such reimbursement, a receipt in full for the value of the property they had left at Parga. They were also informed that, should the Ionian government have any unoccupied lands, a grant would be made to them, and a church built at the expense of that government.

"The answer of the Parguinotes was, that if the deduction in question had been improperly exacted, they did not conceive that any conditions could be imposed on restoring the amount to them; that no consideration, not even the distress which many of them were suffering at the time, should induce them to give an acknowledgment for an indemnification of which they had received only a part. That if it was his Excellency's intention to grant them lands, they begged that such lands should be specifically pointed out, that it might be seen whether they were really susceptible of cultivation, or sterile and uncultivatable, like the little island of Meganizi, of which mention had originally been made; that they had sent deputies to England to obtain redress for the wrongs they had sustained; and that, until an answer was received, it was not in their power to enter into any new arrangements."

* J. B. Wright, Esq. fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge.

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ous war-songs in praise of the great deeds of Ali Pasha. The chorus of one was—That his last action had surpassed all the preceding; for he had made the *Christians' Land* become a part of *Turkey*—alluding to that brilliant achievement the *cession of Parga.*"

Unwilling to break the continuous narrative of this history, I omitted some transactions to which we will now recur. It must not be supposed that Ali calmly and patiently suffered the delays which took place in the cession of Parga, or that he relaxed any other of his ambitious schemes or barbarous atrocities: on the contrary, all his outrageous passions seem to have acquired ten-fold violence, and old age which tames most spirits, only inflamed the ardour of this extraordinary chieftain. In the prosecution of his designs against the Parghiotes he employed trusty agents at London, Constantinople and Corfu: to the first mentioned of these places he sent the Moor Seid Achmet Effendi, whom I have alluded to at our first introduction to the vizir; and that he was not dissatisfied with the diplomatic services of this envoy appears from the reward subsequently bestowed upon him when Ali took possession of Parga, where he gave him lands to the value of 400*l.* per ann., and made him sheik, or principal, of a large teké, into which he converted a fine Greek church, outside the city. At Constantinople his friends distributed the money, with which he supplied them, so dexterously in the Divan, that they soon procured a demand in the name of the Sublime Porte for the surrender of Parga; and when the new governor of the Ionian islands, under the title of Lord High Commissioner, came into his neighbourhood, Ali instantly began to put in practice all those arts of conciliation and intrigue in which he was so great an adept. By inviting this distinguished person-

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age to conferences on his coasts, by receiving him and his suite at splendid entertainments, from which the fair sex was not excluded, and by complimenting them all with those magnificent oriental presents which our old-fashioned habits will scarcely allow us to designate by so honourable an appellation, he not only disseminated among his subjects high notions of his own consequence, but contrived, during the festive moments of convivial intercourse, (which naturally influences the feelings of a guest towards a liberal and munificent host) to employ all that craft, for which he was so notorious, in creating favourable opinions of his own character, and depreciating the motives of those who endeavoured to counteract his machinations. I cannot but believe that our high authorities, when they counselled the Parghiotes to receive Ali Pasha as a ruler, were not fully aware of the dreadful fate to which they would have delivered that unfortunate people: their chief fault consisted in putting themselves into a situation by which they might receive false impressions: but the Parghiotes knew the man by long experience too well to be deceived. Ali had tried similar experiments upon the immediate successor of the noble-minded Denzelot; and amongst other contrivances he procured a petition, signed by fifty Parghiotes, some of whom he had bribed while he forged the names of the rest, entreating the Sublime Porte to place Parga under his tender mercies: but that excellent officer General Campbell defeated these attempts, and protected the republic in their rights and liberty as long as he governed the Ionian islands: afterwards indeed the vizir found fewer obstacles to the execution of his designs. Before the departure of General Campbell, in the year 1815, the first movements of the Hetærists began to be felt in these parts; and their operations

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were conducted with so little prudence, that Ali obtained a copy of the catechism, which he sent to the Ionian governor: happily however the barbarian mistook the nature of the document, which he supposed to be merely an emanation from the society of Philomusi at Athens. He now began to represent the complimentary visits of our high authorities, the great influx of English travellers into his realms, the favourable sentiments of our diplomatists, and the omission of Parga in the conferences of the allied powers, as a complete devotion of the English government to his cause: he had even the audacity to publish, that Sir T. Maitland had been invested with the order of the crescent, entirely from his attachment to Ali and to the interests of the Porte. Yet during all this time his indignation against his English friends was extreme; and though it generally burned secretly within his breast, yet at times the flame would escape, and the terms Giaour and Kiaffir, "infidel and atheist," were among the lightest which he bestowed upon them. Neither were the instances in which he abused their good nature unfrequent: on one occasion an English officer was shot at and severely wounded by three of his Albanians: yet our authorities were satisfied with having the assassins delivered up at Parga, to be returned immediately to their master, who retained them in his service and employed them on the very quarter where they had committed the crime. Soon after this, at Prevesa, he arrested a brother of a contractor who supplied our troops with bread at Santa Maura, threatening to roast him alive unless the contractor would give up his son to serve as an eunuch in his seraglio. This brutality was notorious in our quarters; but it was not thought fit to interfere, and the poor man was obliged to sacrifice his child to save his brother from a dreadful

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death.* With regard to the magnificent presents bestowed by Ali upon our Lord High Commissioner, I never heard of any return made by that distinguished individual, in his private capacity, except one; and this, as it serves to throw some light upon the character of the parties, deserves to be recorded. Sir Thomas had received a young lion from some Barbary chieftain or other, which soon began to prove an annoyance, as well as an expense, to his master: considering however that a lion is a royal present, and conceiving this to be a good opportunity of paying a compliment to the old Aslan or Lion of Ioannina, he sent the beast, accompanied by a letter, for his acceptance. Ali is said to have smiled at the present, and to have returned some such answer as the following. "The vizir assures the Lord High Commissioner of his high consideration; is in no want of lions; but will readily accept this, if Sir Thomas will permit him to let it loose upon the inhabitants of Parga."

Soon after Mr. Parker and myself had left Albania, the functions of the English resident Mr. G. Foresti ceased, and he quitted that scene of his indefatigable and meritorious exertions. In Feb. 1815, Mr. Pouqueville also exchanged his lonely and mortifying residence in Ioannina, for a more agreeable situation at Patras. A few days before his departure Ali invited himself to a dinner at the French consulate, which opened its doors for the first time during a space of nine years to the ingress of the citizens. Mr. Pouqueville, who was accompanied to some distance on his route by a crowd of people uttering prayers for his welfare, having left his brother in the office of Consul at Arta, embarked at Salagora on board a small vessel waiting there for a

* See Edinb. Review for Oct. 1819. p. 290.

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fair wind, and which was moored near a ship that might be said to have been freighted with human misery: it was full of the principal Beys and Agas of Thesprotia torn from their possessions and their families, for the purpose of being conveyed into slavery at Algiers, through one of Ali's cruel and inexorable decrees: not daring, or not caring to put them to death, like the nobles of Gardiki, he took this method of removing those whom he feared or hated, from their native country: Mr. Pouqueville, unable from various causes to sleep, had his waking thoughts through the night disturbed by the groans of these miserable victims, and by the clanking of their chains, as the vessel heaved to and fro with the waves.

After the departure of those two estimable persons, the British resident and the French consul, no one was left near the tyrant, who possessed any influence to soften the asperities of his disposition, to correct the errors of his furious indignation, and to mitigate the lot of those who unhappily fell under it. In fact his temper soon became so morose that one of my Albanian correspondents, in a letter which I received from him about this time, expressed a sentiment very similar to that of the Persian grandee, who never left his monarch's apartment without feeling with his hand whether his head were on his shoulders: the same epistle contained also an extraordinary instance of Ali's brutal ferocity. One of those young Albanian pages, whom I have before mentioned as attached to his Serai, having committed a theft of some trifling article, the chief eunuch reported it to Ali, who ordered the poor wretch instantly to be taken and thrown into the leopard's den at the entrance of the kiosk: the animal however, by constant association with the guards, had become so tame, that he scarcely noticed his victim, who knelt trembling, and putting up

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his silent prayers to heaven, at a corner of the cage. The savage Arnaouts then drove with the points of their ataghans and daggers the unhappy youth, in vain appealing to their humanity, and declaring that his blood would be upon their heads, to precipitate himself upon the couching animal: the beast however, having more pity than his human tormentors, merely struck him with its paw to the floor of the cage, and then fawned upon him as he lay. These circumstances being reported to the vizir, he ordered the boy to be taken out of the den, cut into small peices, and in that state thrown back to be devoured.

In the beginning of this year (1816) Ali received a visit from the dethroned king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, who came to Prevesa in expectation of a firman from the Porte to visit the Holy Land. This illustrious exile was received with all the honours due to his forfeited rank by the vizir, who purchased from him some very valuable jewels, and was presented by his guest with a sword that once belonged to Charles XII. Towards the end of this same year Ali formed the cruel determination of expatriating or extirpating the Kimarriots, inhabitants of the ancient Acroceraunia. He had some distrust of their fidelity, and had moreover begun to execute that execrable design of exterminating all those hardy chiefs or independent clans, whose struggles to regain their liberty might interfere with the interests of his youngest son, whom he had resolved to make his heir, and for whom he had lately procured the title of Pasha, with the government of Lepanto. As the Kimarriots offered no resistance, which they knew would be worse than useless, Ali was at a loss for any pretence to destroy them: he therefore determined upon a general expatriation of the tribe, and sent orders to that purport.

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The wretched creatures immediately dispatched a deputation of elders, to sooth the despot if possible, and to procure a mitigation of their lot: but they might have endeavoured with as much prospect of success to make strait the crooked oak. The members even of his council were moved at the pathetic remonstrances and simple eloquence of these rude mountaineers, imploring mercy for their wives and little ones, and supplicating for permission to leave their bones in their native land. Ali however was implacable; he would not even defer their removal to the warm season; but in the midst of the peculiar severities of an Acroceraunian winter, he sent his fierce Albanian troops, who mercilessly drove out all the occupants of the soil, mothers with infants at the breast, others at the point of bringing their innocent offspring into a world of sorrow, old men bent down with years, and tender maidens unused to the very sight of man: these like so many herds of cattle were transferred to the pestilential marshes of Acherusia, whilst a multitude of unfortunate Prevesans were driven from their delightful climate, together with numerous colonists from the fertile plains of Thessaly, to repeople the rugged mountains of Kimarra. Soon after this exploit he converted the whole district of Zagori into a chiflick, as an inheritance for his son Salee Pasha: in vain did the unhappy people remonstrate against this act of extreme injustice and severity: their supplications were as useless as had been those of the Kimarriots; and some thousands of families, deprived of their lawful possessions, were now converted into miserable serfs, attached to the soil, and subjected to the exactions of their despoiler.

About the middle of the year in which these atrocious acts of despotism occurred, a French renegade who had

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turned Mahometan, and assumed the name of Ibrahim Manzour Effendi, came after a variety of extraordinary adventures to Ioannina, and engaged himself in the vizir's service as principal officer of ordinance;* Caretto being at this time in prison at Argyro-Castro on account of the affair of Gelisem. Deceived by Ali with respect to the state of his native country, which was represented as again wet with the blood of the Bourbons and subject to all the horrors of a second revolution, he unfortunately took the tyrant's word, and suddenly found himself encompassed with toils from which escape seemed impossible. Nothing however could exceed the kindness and cordiality of his first reception: the crafty old vizir in tones of tenderest sympathy lamented the state of unfortunate France, told Manzour, that since he had taken the trouble of coming to visit him all the way from Lepanto, he should feel ashamed if he went out of Ali's gate in affliction, encouraged him with the endearing title of Son, promised to him the grant of a splendid Timar or military fief, and told him to name his own appointments for the present: "I am called Ali Pasha," said he at the conclusion of his speech, "and I know how to make the fortune of those that serve me with zeal and fidelity: nor will you be the first that I have put into a station to be envied by the greatest nobles of Stamboul." Manzour, deceived by these specious promises, like many other Franks who abounded, at this and all

* Manzour afterwards published an account of his residence, with a life of Ali, compiled chiefly from Mr. Pouqueville's work, and the French edition of my own. His details respecting the state of Albania and Ioannina are multifarious, and though frequently overlaid with exaggerated statements (which however are easily discerned by those acquainted with Ali and his country) yet they afford much curious information. I have accordingly extracted some remarkable traits of Ali's character from this source.

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times, in the vizir's service, accepted the offer with protestations of heartfelt gratitude for such amazing condescension, and left his appointments entirely to the vizir's discretion. Ali with a gracious smile praised his disinterestedness, and settled on him a splendid salary, to be paid not out of the treasury, but, as in case of particular favourites, from the receipts of the Dogana: this however, after the first six months, proved but a golden vision, which always eluded the grasp; and poor Manzour might have starved in the midst of plenty, had it not been for the hospitality of old Mahomet Effendi. Having been dismissed by Ali, with an order to present himself again at the Serai after four days, Manzour strolled through the bazar, the only interesting portion of a Turkish city, where he met with a number of Franks in a state of extreme destitution. Each told him a dismal tale, being detained in the country against his inclination, receiving no pay, unless such as was casual, or given in the most irregular manner possible: most of these personages however deserved but little pity, as they were generally men devoid of character when they left their own countries. Amongst them was one Vincenzo Micarelli a Neapolitan priest, whom I recollect to have seen during our residence in Ioannina, where he was living with two abandoned women, a mother and daughter who had accompanied him in his flight. But it was from one of his own countrymen named Michel, whom I also recollect, and who was placed by Ali over his carpenters and joiners after having received a wife from the harem, that Manzour learnt the extent of his misfortunes. "No one," said Michel, "can quit the realms of Ali Pasha without his express permission; and this he grants to none but fathers of families who can leave hostages for their return, or mer-

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chants who are able to find sureties among their relatives: neither will you as a Mussulman be entitled to greater privileges than a Frank." To this Manzour in surprise asked, how it was possible to prevent a person from travelling in a country where passports, registers, and prefectures were unknown, and which was even devoid of inns or hotels. "No man," replied Michel, "can move in these provinces without a species of passport called feskerré, written in Romaic,* and which, though it contain not the signature of the bearer, is sealed with the despot's small signet that he wears upon his finger; whilst the passports of those that travel in his service are signed with his name, the only word he is able to write. To prevent the escape of his subjects, the roads are all strictly guarded by small bodies of troops at short distances from each other, and some of these are stationed even at the most unfrequented passes: at any station the traveller's passport may be demanded, when woe be to him who is unable to produce it: he is instantly seized, fast bound with cords, and in that state dragged to the capital, where he must justify himself to the vizir. If the unfortunate wretch has lost his feskerré, he is sure to be accused of having sold it to some person wishing to escape; and then torture is applied, either to extort a confession, or money if he has sufficient to appease the tyrant's wrath; if not, he is cast into the *buldron* with a heavy chain and collar round his neck, and there left to languish until some accident or death shall release him from his misery. But should any one be caught endeavouring to elude the vigilance of the patrole, the dreadful species of death to which he is put,

* I possess one of these feskerrés written upon a shabby piece of paper scarcely large enough to wrap up an ounce of tea.

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serves as an example to deter others from similar attempts: moreover all the guards are doubled at the frontiers and the sea-port towns." This conversation convinced Manzour that he was fairly caught; though he secretly determined to try the experiment of escape, in spite of all difficulties, if he should find his situation irksome; moreover he formed the resolution to resist Ali's attempts to engage him in the ties of matrimony; in which his constancy was soon and often put to the proof: in the mean time he met with a very friendly reception amongst the Mahometans of the court, who rejoiced to see one of their own faith preferred before the crafty and subtle Greeks, who filled almost every appointment about the vizir: full of insinuation, with a smattering of many languages, and an appetency for office that can be equalled only by the tenacity with which some reptiles cling to life, these wily Greeks swarmed in Ali's serai like the frogs in Pharaoh's chamber; and every art which cunning could supply to circumvent and ruin a new comer was put in practice by them against Manzour: accounts were falsified, documents garbled, stories invented, insinuations breathed, and plots of every species laid. The knowledge however which the renegade possessed, or was supposed to possess, of military affairs, recommended him strongly to Ali, particularly in the early part of their connexion; and at his second audience a fine pelisse, and a horse richly caparisoned, were presented to him, with an order entitling him to an excellent house, out of which a widow and her two daughters were to be turned for his accommodation. He received also an invitation to take his evening meal with the vizir after sunset, it being the fast of the Ramazan when this introduction took place. To the credit of Manzour it must be said that he refused to eject the poor women from their habi-

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tation, and was content to take up with a very inferior lodging, though he was afterwards accommodated with an apartment in the house of his kind friend and protector Mahomet Effendi: Ali's observation upon this act of commiseration was characteristic of the man: "Well, παιδί μου, if you don't choose to accept a good house when offered to you, I shall not build one expressly for your service: you have as yet a Frank heart, and you feel pity for these wretches, because you don't know them; but you soon *will*." At supper also he received a rebuke which taught him that he was not engaged by the vizir to be a censor either of his manners or his morals. The following circumstances led to this early explanation. During the season of Ramazan small bags of paras were distributed in alms to the poorer women of Ioannina, who presented themselves to receive it at the gate of some one of Ali's numerous serais: an apparent act of mercy was however turned into one of diabolical cruelty; the distribution was committed to some insolent pages of the seraglio, who after keeping the poor creatures, already weakened by fasting, many hours at the gate, and exposed frequently to severe weather, at last came attended by a retinue of the brutal Albanian guards, armed with long white sticks. Every method was then taken by partiality, feints, and contrivances, to make the miserable expectants quarrel among themselves; and it generally happened that the stronger pressed down the weaker and even trampled on their prostrate bodies to get at the distributor, whilst the malicious of the sex tore off the veils and the very clothes from the persons of the more modest: then a signal was given to the fierce Arnaouts, who immediately rushed among these defenceless females, striking them on all sides with their staves, till the blood ran in streams down

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their heads, amidst shrieks and groans and execrations: nor did it unfrequently happen that death ensued from this brutal treatment. Some idea of the miserable state of the lower classes in Ioannina may be conceived from their endurance of these outrages for the trifling recompense of a few paras. The malicious pages generally retreated from the affray, tying up the bags with great part of the money in them as their own perquisite.

Manzour at supper took the liberty of expostulating with the vizir upon this inhuman treatment of the poor women by his Ganymedes, referring his apparent want of appetite to the scene he had witnessed, instead of a previous meal in which he had taken the liberty of indulging. After supper had been dispatched and the attendants had retired, Ali whispered thus into the ear of his guest. "Ibrahim Effendi, at present you are too young at my court to know exactly how to comport yourself: you will in time become civilized; but inasmuch as I love you and cherish you like my own son, I will give you a bit of advice; and that is, not to meddle with affairs that don't concern you; or you will perhaps find that the *great serpent* can bite." Manzour was not at this time aware that the scene, which he so much reprobated, was got up for the vizir's own amusement, who generally sat at a latticed window of the serai to view it. On another occasion when Ibrahim made some allusion to the severities which Ali exercised on his subjects, he received the following reply. "You are not yet acquainted with the Greeks and Albanians: when I hang up one of these wretches on the plane-tree, brother robs brother under the very branches: if I burn one of them alive, the son is ready to steal his father's ashes to sell them for money. They are destined to be ruled by me, and no one but Ali is capable of restraining their evil propensities." The

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day after Manzour's supper with the vizir, he was taken to view some powder-mills lately erected near the lake, to inspect the artillery, and to give his opinion respecting various forts and serais, in the construction and superintendence of which Ali took an extraordinary delight; thinking, like a semibarbarian, that in these lay the great means of his defence and the foundation of his glory; whilst in reality they denuded his country, distressed his subjects, and weakened his resources against an enemy. In this ride Manzour was accompanied by Ali himself: at the commencement of it, as they passed through the gate of the serai, a large crowd of poor petitioners were violently driven back and scattered by the sticks of his Albanian guards: one only was respected by them, a Dervish, who advancing boldly to the vizir demanded to speak with him: Ali however, being in great haste, entreated the petitioner to release him, and to call in the evening at his serai, offering to him at the same time a handful of small gold pieces, and begging the favour of his prayers: but when he urged on his horse and would have proceeded, the audacious fanatic seized the bridle and detained him forcibly, to hear the subject of his petition. In the mean time poor Ali cried out to Manzour, who had retired to a little distance, "Patience, my son; we shall not be detained long." "Not long," replied the Dervish, "how knowest thou that, ancient sinner?" after which continuing to rein in the steed and to refuse the gold which Ali repeatedly proffered, he went through every article of a long harangue; and as Ali raised up his face, according to his custom when particularly annoyed, his tormentor cried out; "O Ali, look not always on high; turn thy regards upon the earth from which thou camest, and to which thou shalt return at the will of the Almighty." He then loosed the

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bridle, turned his back on the vizir and walked off. The only observation on this extraordinary scene which the vizir made to his companion, upon rejoining him, was this: "My son, I know I have many faults, and they call me a tyrant; but I have one virtue which compensates for all, and that is *patience*." For a considerable time Manzour remained in high favour with the vizir, constructing forts, exercising artillery-men, and introducing new regulations among the troops: but at length the unceasing endeavours of the Greek secretaries began to undermine his interest, and a servant who was acquainted with the secret of some manufacture which Ali wished to know, and had promised to give a large reward to Manzour for its disclosure, was induced to betray his master and to exercise his craft for the immediate service of the vizir: moreover the pay began to be stopped, or paid in small portions and at long intervals, so that Ibrahim frequently asked for his dismissal with a bouyourdee to leave the country: but to all these requests Ali declared he could not let him go; that one who had once eaten his bread must stay with him to the last; that he had the right of retaining any persons in his dominion even against their will, if he had need of them; since all he did was for the benefit of Islamism and the injury of Christianity. "If I commit crimes," said he, "and if I am a tyrant, it is for the good of our holy religion and the empire."

On one occasion poor Manzour had nearly suffered the extremity of the tyrant's wrath. Having exhibited to him an invention of some French chymist, which consisted in conpounding a certain proportion of chalk with gunpowder, Ali committed the examination of this mixture to Micarelli, the Italian priest before alluded to: this man, gained over by Signor Colovo, who was extremely

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jealous of Manzour, pronounced it to be a composition of arsenic, vitriol, and other poisonous materials, intended for the vizir's destruction: by these representations Ali was so incensed, that he declared the author of it should be burned alive at the stake that same evening; and the only expedient by which Manzour could escape his fate was to disclose the secret of the ingredients, and thus forfeit the recompense he was to have received if the experiment had succeeded. Ali at once acknowledged his error, and gave him permission to inflict any revenge upon Micarelli short of killing him. "Sooner or later however I will hang the dog," said he; "and nothing but one little secret reason hinders me from burning him alive this very night instead of yourself." This secret reason is declared by Manzour to have been, that the charlatan was preparing, or supposed by Ali to be preparing, for his use a violent but tasteless poison.

In the autumn of the year (1816) in which the vizir had formally espoused his favourite slave Vasilikee, the marriage of his youngest son Salee Pasha took place. On this occasion not only the citizens of Ioannina, but the country people of the district, were called upon to bring in their contributions; so that for some time the very streets of the city were blocked up with beasts of burthen employed in carrying these nuptial gifts. The women even of the poorest villages came in troops, bringing such presents as poverty itself might spare; a little honey or a few faggots of fire-wood: they were escorted to the serai by the Albanian guards who beat them with their long sticks in order to make them sing; and their husbands waited in the court whilst they proceeded into the harem to deposit their presents. The day of the nuptials saw an exhibition of a very singular cha-

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racter. Two men of the Zinganee tribe, established at Ioannina, solemnly devoted themselves in the cause of Ali and his son: having taken upon their own heads all the misfortunes that fate might have in store for those illustrious princes, they mounted a lofty tower in the court of the old serai, about noonday, and then cast themselves down from the top of it upon the pavement. It happened that both escaped with their lives; though the youngest of the two was carried off insensible from some severe contusions: the eldest was presented to Ali upon the spot, who conferred upon him and his companion a small pension with a daily portion of Calamboci bread.

The years of 1817 and 1818 were spent by Ali principally in devising schemes for the occupation of Parga, whilst profound peace reigned in his own states: indeed in every part where he expected any commotion to arise, he had introduced that solitude, which, according to the historian, sometimes goes under the name of peace. His dominions were about this time visited by many foreigners; and to show the advances which flattery was now making, it may suffice to observe, that a coat of arms was invented for him by a skilful herald, consisting of a Lion, in a field gules, embracing three young Lions—an appropriate emblem of the old Aslan of Ioannina and his dynasty. At Vienna a poem had been written in his praise, and a grammar published by one Patzoula of Macedonia, the dedication of which lavished upon the Albanian autocrat the gentle titles of high, mighty, most puissant, and most *merciful* prince. Ali himself had procured a splendid star to be formed, principally from the jewels which he had purchased from the ex-king of Sweden: this he called *his order* and wore it on his outer vest, in imitation of that which he

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had observed on the coat of the Lord High Commissioner. To Manzour at this time he confided his disquiet at seeing so many English travellers in his dominions; for, said he, if any one of them should happen to die, their foolish government may suppose that I poisoned them, and interpose obstacles to my possession of Parga. Mouchtar is said even to have advised him to send emissaries to Corfu, one of whom should have it in charge to poison the others; when he might himself charge the crime upon the British government, and turn that into a claim upon it for the devoted city. The vizir however rejected this suggestion at once. No doubt he had formed too just an opinion of Sir Thomas Maitland's discernment to expect any success from such a scheme.

Having no impulse now given to his vengeance on a great scale or in a public cause, he seems to have indulged in peculiar acts of atrocity towards individuals. Many of these are related by Manzour; but since the records of blood can only be tolerated so long as they serve for the developement of character, I shall notice but one which had almost led to Manzour's own destruction, and which determined him to attempt an escape at any risk from scenes of horror in which he was liable to be made a participator. One of Ali's Albanian domestics having committed the high crime and misdemeanor of paying a visit to his family, without the despot's permission, a bouyourdee was sent after him, and his own brother-in-law was commanded to bring the offender bound into the vizir's presence. The unfortunate wretch was then sentenced to stand at a short distance from a cannon's mouth, loaded with powder only, and to receive the discharge. Manzour, who as chief engineer was obliged to superintend this punishment, in mercy ordered his artillery-man to put a stone secretly into the

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charge: the miserable culprit was then led seven times slowly round the cannon, with a lighted match before him, whilst his own sister, who was one of Ali's concubines, was obliged to behold the scene, between two eunuchs, at a window of the harem. The gun was then discharged and the culprit fell, not stunned as Ali expected, but dead upon the spot: he walked up to the corpse in some degree of astonishment, and observing a hole made in it by the stone, he fell into an outrageous fury, and threatened all concerned in the transaction with a similar fate; nor was it without many earnest protestations, that Manzour persuaded him it was an accidental circumstance.

Even at the advanced age at which Ali had now arrived, his inordinate lusts still raged with ungovernable violence. His envoys and pandars diligently searched various parts of his realms for the most beautiful of both sexes to replenish his accursed harems; many were carried by force from the houses of their parents; some were rendered orphans by the death or exile of their natural protectors, and seized upon as a matter of course; others were dragged from the very altar; whilst a few persons were found degraded enough to offer voluntarily their daughters and sisters to the tyrant. An instance of almost unexampled baseness is recorded of an Italian officer in his service, who in the year 1818 made a voyage to Venice for the express purpose of bringing back his own daughter, a beautiful girl of sixteen, to augment the number of these wretched victims. In this same year Manzour saw a procession pass through Ioannina, consisting of the crew of a merchant vessel from Cattaro, which had once carried the Austrian flag, and had been driven by stress of weather into an Albanian port: there by Ali's orders the crew and passengers were made prisoners and forced to work upon his great fortress

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of Argyro-Castro: those that had escaped the plague, the hard labour, and the bad food, were now by some unaccountable freak of mercy, or the reclamation of some foreign power, released from slavery, and sent out of the tyrant's realm.* Twice during the years 1816 and 1817, the plague had appeared in Ioannina, when Ali, notwithstanding his amulets, his panacea, and the dogmas of his creed, took flight, and shut himself up in the serai of Prevesa.

At length after unremitted exertions, intense flattery, restrained indignation, and enormous perfidy, Ali saw the long-wished for day arrive which should deliver Parga into his grasp: but the money which he was obliged to pay as some sort of indemnification to the inhabitants, constantly tormented him, and impelled him at times to utter the most violent invectives against his British allies. Manzour Effendi, with several other officers, attended him at Prevesa when the English brig sailed out of that port, conveying away his treasure. As the room in which he sat commanded a fine view of the harbour's mouth, and the ship in full sail met his eye, he started up in high dudgeon, and walked into another apartment, breathing out a pious wish that the accursed vessel, with its freight, might founder before she arrived at Corfu. Yet the unfeeling tyrant turned this very payment into a plea for exacting an extraordinary contribution from his states, extending it to all ranks of people—no one was exempt; and Manzour himself, who had received scarcely any pay for more than a year, was obliged to advance the sum of two hundred Turkish piastres: thus it is supposed that he more than quadrupled the sum paid for

* One amongst them is named as a Mr. Aschik, of a good family in Dalmatia, and an officer in the British service.

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the property of the republic; but no pecuniary advantage could alleviate the disappointment which he felt at being unable to repeat the tragedy of Gardiki under the walls of Parga. This contribution was felt peculiarly heavy by his subjects, as it took place very soon after he had squeezed them for the repair of his grand serai at Tepeleni, which had been burnt either by accident or by lightning: if the method however taken to reimburse himself were considered, he might deservedly be suspected of having himself been the incendiary:

—— merito jam
Suspectus, tanquam ipse suas incenderit ædes.

The foregoing circumstances, added to the unceasing attacks of the Greek grammaticos, and a pressing invitation made to Manzour by Ali, that he would take in marriage the daughter of an Albanian Bey who had been put to death about eight years before, determined the renegade at once to fly, though but a few months had passed since he saw the vizir's vengeance exercised upon several of his officers at Prevesa, who were unable to prevent the flight of Mr. Freywald: this was an ingenious German artist, who had been allured from Vienna by Ali's agents, and was forcibly detained for the purpose of stuccoing, and fitting up his serais at Prevesa, and other places. After a sojourn of several years in utter misery, and to the ruin of his prospects, he contrived to escape in an English ship from Prevesa; but the commander of Ali's guard-boat was immediately put to death, and the sailors bastinadoed with such severity, that several died from the effects of the punishment: the captain of the port and the military commander were degraded, and the governor himself, one of the vizir's greatest favourites, was only able to ward off the storm by the sacrifice of a large sum

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of money. Yet so irksome had his situation become, that Manzour determined upon making the attempt, and succeeded: taking horse he crossed the Pindus, as if sent on a mission by the vizir, arrived safe in Macedonia, and left the ordnance department to Caretto, who had been some time before liberated from confinement.

A few days previous to Manzour's escape, a massacre occurred at Grebovo, about three leagues distant from Ioannina, which shows the tremendous ferocity which the tyrant's soul had by this time contracted.*

Two Albanian Mahometans, having a debtor in that village, which was entirely inhabited by Greeks, proceeded thither to demand payment of their money: the Greek received them with apparent cordiality, roasted a lamb for their entertainment, and pressed them to pass the night under his roof: the invitation was accepted; but the unfortunate Albanians never rose from the bed of their treacherous host, who murdered them with the assistance of his wife, and buried their bodies beneath the floor of his dwelling. A few days after this act, the woman was cleaning her house, and in answer to a neighbour who inquired respecting the marks of blood upon some utensils, replied, it was that of the lamb which had been killed for their guests. This circumstance, however, added to the sudden disappearance of the guests themselves, who were men well known in the place, occasioned suspicion, and brought out the baloukbashee with his guards, who were not long in discovering the corpses of the murdered persons; after which they conducted the man, his wife, and two children, to Ioannina, placing them in custody of Vehib Effendi, son of old Mahomet the prime minister, who had been dead about six months, and to whom the

* I have had the means of authenticating this story from other sources.

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village had belonged as a chiflick. The young man instantly reported the affair to the vizir; but not having the same influence with him as his father had, was unable to stem the torrent of his wrath, or prevent him from acting instantly upon its dictates. Not content with ordering the murderers to be executed by slow tortures, he sent his Albanians to exterminate the whole village; when some were hewn in pieces by ataghans; others were dragged to death at the tails of horses; many women were *hanged*, contrary to all custom in Turkey; and three priests were committed to the flames after sharp matches of combustible wood had been stuck over their bodies. Not an inhabitant of Grebovo escaped: one man who had not even resided there for a month before the murder occurred, was sent for by Ali's orders from a distance of ten leagues, and in consideration of his *alibi* condemned *only to be hanged.*

Soon after the evacuation of Parga, Ali went to view his newly acquired territory; with the beauty, fertility, and happy situation of which he was so much struck, as to confess he was not surprised at the resistance of its inhabitants. But it was not the occupation of Parga that could satisfy his ambitious mind, though its possession made him master of Continental Greece, from the Attic boundary of Parnes to the rugged mountains of Illyricum. He turned his eyes still farther northward, and commenced intrigues to gain a footing in the Pashalic of Scodra, where he kept a party in pay that favoured his ambitious views: but he was suddenly disconcerted by the unusually prompt policy of the Porte, which now began to think seriously of chastising this arch rebel. Indeed Sultan Mahmoud had early shown a character marked with greater decision than that of his predecessors for many generations; and one of his favourite projects was the overthrow of every great vassal of the empire, who, by

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taking advantage of the times, had enlarged or consolidated a power too independent of the supreme government: so energetic had been his measures already taken, that of all these powerful and refractory satraps, two only remained, Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and Ali Aslan, Pasha of Ioannina. Whilst war raged among the states of Europe, and the Porte was liable to be engaged with one or other of the combatants, the consolidation of Ali's Albanian dominions served as a very useful barrier to Turkey on the side of the Adriatic: but when a general pacification took place, the Ottoman government thought the time was come for clearing itself from the charge of imbecillity or blindness, and for squeezing out of Ali's grasp those treasures which he cherished like his life-blood.

The first decisive act of the Porte was to appoint a new Rumelie Vasilee, who was stationed at Monastir to overawe and check the vizir. Moreover, at the seat of government were two of his most bitter and implacable enemies; the celebrated Haleb Effendi, Sultan Mahmoud's chief favourite, who ceased to be Ali's advocate when his increasing avarice began to draw tight his purse-strings, and the equally celebrated Ismael Pashou Bey, the greatest part of whose life had been a series of persecutions contrived by the vizir. Pashou had once possessed a large property in Ioannina, from whence he was driven by Ali, and forced to take office under Vely Pasha, to whom he revealed the circumstance of his wife's dishonour, basely effected by her libidinous father-in-law. Ali, having discovered the author of this disclosure, pursued him by emissaries through half the countries of the East; and the history of Pashou Bey for years past had been nothing but a narrative of hair-breadth escapes from the vengeance of his persecutor. At one time Ali contrived to procure a

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sentence of death against him from the Porte, to escape from which he fled for protection to the Viceroy of Egypt. While residing at Alexandria, some Albanian mariners one day solicited his advice, as a countryman, with respect to the disposal of some goods just brought, as they said, into harbour, and which they wished him to inspect on board their vessel. Pashou Bey had by this time learnt the danger of placing too great confidence in appearances; so he sent a person to take a private survey of the Albanian vessel, who reported that, instead of being laden with goods, she was in sailing trim, ready to start at a moment's notice; Pashou of course declined the friendly invitation of his countrymen, who, finding themselves baulked in their too obvious design, left the port with all possible expedition. This circumstance coming to the ear of the viceroy, so strengthened the interest which he had taken in Pashou Bey, that exerting all his influence with the Sultan, he obtained a revocation of the sentence of death, and permission for him to reside at Constantinople, where he was honoured with the title and office of a capidgi-bashi.

Yet even under the shade of the sublime Porte he was not safe from the attempts of his powerful adversary. Ali, having learnt from his agents that Pashou stood in high favour with the Grand Signior, and that from his knowledge of the vizir's country, family and affairs, he was likely to be employed actively against him, took measures accordingly; and in the month of February 1820 two Albanian horsemen rode briskly up to the residence of the capidgi-bashi and pretended business of the utmost importance: when Pashou looked out of his window to speak to them, they fired their pistols at his head, but only slightly wounded him; after which they put spurs to their horses, and scampered off at full gallop. A well-

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mounted party, however, was soon in pursuit of them, and at a village about sixty miles distant, one of the assassins was taken and brought back to Constantinople. At first he refused to say a word respecting this outrageous attempt; but when put to the torture, confessed that he and his companion had been hired by Ali Pasha of Ioannina to commit the murder.

This last act of audacity roused all the indignation of Sultan Mahmoud, which was kept alive not more by the representations of his favourite Haleb Effendi, than by the long-cherished desire of securing for the imperial coffers that enormous wealth which Ali was known to have accumulated. A secret divan was now held at Constantinople, in which the destruction of the old Lion of Albania was resolved upon: the impetuosity, however, of Mahmoud was restrained by his more prudent counsellors, and cautious measures were at first adopted. Ali himself was declared *fermanli*, i. e. he was placed under ban of the empire, unless he should repair within forty days to justify himself at the Sublime Porte; his rapacious son Vely Pasha was removed from the Pashalic of Larissa, and sent to the comparatively unimportant post of Lepanto; new governors were appointed to various military stations on the Albanian borders, which had hitherto been filled by the vizir's own creatures; and his agents at Constantinople being all arrested, his property in their hands was confiscated to the state. Little, however, did the divan suppose, that by this attack upon a rebellious vassal, it was lighting the train to an explosion, which would soon shake the very empire to its foundation: for whatever may be said of the materials of the Greek insurrection, laid during ages of horrid despotism, increased by a connexion with a powerful empire professing the same religious faith as Greece, and adopting her sons into

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its family, cemented also by the Hetæria, that combination of spirited individuals in the cause of freedom, and agitated by those revolutionary movements which were at this time convulsing the nations all around, still it is certain that Ali's rebellion, more than any other known event, determined the period of insurrection; "as if," says Mr. Waddington, "that monstrous spawn of despotism had been reserved to make, before he perished, one involuntary atonement to liberty for the outrages which he had employed his long life in inflicting upon her."*

Ali's attempt to assassinate Pashou Bey took place in February; but several months elapsed before the Ottoman forces were put in motion. In the mean time, the old vizir fluctuated in his counsels; for he suspected that little reliance could be placed on his Mahometan subjects, when the mandate of the Sultan was backed by the anathema of the Mufti: yet there were two paths open to him for safety; the first would have led him, with his long-cherished treasures to Corfu, where his English allies fairly owed him protection; and this he afterwards attempted when it was no longer practicable: the second would probably have conducted him at the close of life to a regal throne, and cast a blaze of glory round the setting sun of Hissas: in short, had he resolved at once to abjure his religion, to which he never professed any real attachment, had he thrown himself, with all his riches, into the hands of the Greek people now ripe for insurrection, who would have fought like lions under his standard, and defended his mountain barriers against all invaders, Ali might have still been conqueror. To this determination it is said he was strongly urged by his favourite palikar Odysseus; but suspicion of others, springing from his

* Visit to Greece: Introd. p. vii.

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own long habits of deceit, had taken possession of his mind; avarice also had so deeply rooted itself there, that to have deprived him of his treasures would have been like rending his very heart-strings. He therefore took a middle course, and decided upon half measures, which led him, as they have done thousands, to destruction. The steps he took were, to raise the Greek Armatoli by the alluring baits of high pay and license for plunder; to organise the Kleftes; and to draw round him his principal chieftains, both Christians and Mahometans. At a grand meeting held at Ioannina in May, which however was principally attended by Greeks and Albanians, he endeavoured to sound their views, and to justify his own conduct: he also spoke with animation of the affection which he bore towards his people, with whose assistance he expressed himself ready and able to exterminate the Ottoman power.

His speech, however, was not followed by the applause he expected: the Greeks had neither sufficient confidence in Ali, nor hope of success against the Turks; whilst the chief of the Miridites, that bravest of the Illyrian clans, declared that he and his followers would never serve against the Sultan. This declaration, however, was drowned in the acclamations of some needy adventurers and still faithful Arnaouts, who shouted, "Long life to Ali Pasha, *the restorer of freedom.*" Next day appeared a proclamation, in which he called upon the different tribes to assemble round his standard, remitting their usual tribute, and exhorting them to rely upon his friendship.

The chief command of the expedition against the Albanian rebel was conferred upon his old enemy Pashou Bey, who was allowed to seize upon Epirus by the right of *Arpalic*, or conquest, and to take the title attached to its

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possession. In the mean time instructions were sent among the neighbouring Pashas to prepare for co-operation; and the whole of this portion of Turkey was already in agitation. The first attack made upon Ali was by the Seraskier of the Porte, Suleyman Pasha, who had succeeded Vely in the government of Larissa. He, either from ignorance, or from the treachery of a Greek secretary named Anagnostis, committed a great error in the commencement of the war, by exciting the Armatoli, Kleftes, and other inhabitants of Thessaly, to take up arms, which were soon turned against the Turks themselves: for this imprudence he was recalled from his command, and a capigi-bashi was dispatched from Constantinople, who, meeting him at Salonica, saved him the trouble of carrying his head to the Sublime Porte. He was replaced in the pashalic of Larissa by the celebrated Mohammed Drama Ali, or Dram-Ali, as he is sometimes called, father-in-law of Pashou Bey. The scattered clouds appeared now to be gathering into a collected mass round the barriers of Albania. A strong squadron was prepared to act in the Ionian sea; Moustaï Pasha was ordered to move his forces from Scodra; Dram-Ali, who had been received with acclamations at Larissa, advanced to the defiles of Pindus, where he accepted the submission of a great part of the Armatoli. Between these two commanders Pashou Bey was to direct his march; and Pehlevan Baba Pasha led his hardy tribes from Mount Hæmus, through Livadia, upon Lepanto; from which place Vely Pasha retreated to Ioannina, after having sent his harem, his treasure, and other valuables to Prevesa. His report respecting the alienated affections of the Turks and their wavering fidelity, occasioned Ali to disarm many of the Mahometans in Arta and Prevesa, and to take hostages from others: but Mouchtar Pacha, who arrived

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nearly at the same time from an inspection of fortresses in the north, gave a much more cheering view of things in that quarter; so that if the vizir could have relied on his Mahometan subjects, he might still have expected to defend his Albanian territory against invasion, though his Thessalian dependencies were lost, and the foe was strong in the southern provinces beyond the gulf of Arta. Yet even there the brave Palikar Odysseus with his bands of Armatoli occupied the mountain passes, cutting off stragglers from the army of Pehlevan Pasha, and harassing him by all the methods of guerilla warfare. In Albania and Epirus, the great fortresses of Ochrida, Berat, Kleissura, Premeti, Tepeleni, Argyro-Castro, Delvino, Paramithia, Suli, Arta, and Cinque Pozzi, with some others, besides the ports of Avlona, Palermo, Santa-Quaranta, Parga, and Prevesa, were well garrisoned; whilst Ioannina was defended by its forts of Litaritza and the Castron, and the navigation of the lake was secured by a castle built upon its island: all these strong places were mounted with fine brass artillery, and supplied with immense stores of ammunition and Congreve-rockets, great part of which Ali purchased from his former allies in Corfu: moreover, a line of signals was established between Prevesa and the capital, to give the earliest possible intelligence of the Turkish squadron. Vely Pasha now returned to Prevesa; Mouchtar and Salee Pasha displayed their horse-tails at Berat; to Mehmet Pasha, our interesting young friend, was committed the command of Parga; while that of Tepeleni was confided to Hussein Pasha, eldest son of Mouchtar, who alone proved himself worthy of Ali's blood. The old Lion himself remained to defend the fortresses of his capital, where Caretto, the lover of the unfortunate Gelisem, was chief engineer: the command of his army, consisting of fifteen thousand chosen troops, he

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gave to Omer Bey Vrioni, under whom Alexi Noutza and Mantho were nominated lieutenants; Odysseus had the chief direction of his guerilla forces; whilst all his strong forts were committed to the most tried warriors; and that of Suli to the redoubtable Tahir Abbas.

Public enthusiasm at this time appeared to be completely on the side of Ali, who set an example of unceasing activity in the various duties of a brave and experienced warrior: sometimes in a litter, sometimes on horseback, he inspected all his fortifications, and the works which it was thought necessary to raise or to strengthen, exciting the zeal and rewarding the exertions of every one whom he saw active in his service: wherever he appeared he was welcomed with loud shouts and protestations of self-devotion; but these were, in most instances, the effects of dissimulation, not of love; snares with which a people, long harassed by a cruel and vexatious tyranny, sought to circumvent their tyrant and to hurl him from his seat. Moreover, at this time the subtle despot sought to give a still stronger impulse to the spirit of his people, when, in accordance with that of the age, he announced his intention of granting them a *Constitutional Charter*. The Greeks responded with great alacrity to his proclamation; but the Albanians only asked if a charter would insure their pay; while the Turks spoke of it with contempt and indignation. "A charter!" they observed to one another; "a charter indeed! Have we not the Koran? would the kiaffir change the laws of the prophet?" In the mean time Signore Colovo and a merchant of Ioannina were dispatched to Corfu, that great phrontisterion of political speculators, under the plausible pretext of collecting materials for this important document; but the real motives of their mission were to purchase ammunition, and to deposit, in what were thought safe hands, a consi-

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derable portion of their master's treasures. Unfortunately for his emissaries, whilst they were thus engaged at Corfu, the Turkish fleet under the capudan-bey appeared on the coast, and by it they were intercepted on their return to Epirus. Being taken on board the admiral's ship, Colovo was immediately recognized as Ali's principal secretary, and put to the torture for the purpose of extorting from him all he knew respecting his master's affairs.

At the commencement of the campaign fortune seemed inclined to smile upon her ancient favourite. Moustaï Pasha of Scodra, who first put his forces in motion, was forced to retreat before Mouchtar, as the crafty old vizir had succeeded in exciting an insurrection of the Montenegrins in his rear; the Ottoman fleet was obliged, for want of supplies, to retire upon the coasts of the Morea; and Ismael Pashou Bey did not appear in haste to move his raw undisciplined levies, which had been collected together by compulsion, from their position between the Haliacmon and the Vardar. Appearances however were deceitful: notwithstanding these and the exhilarating dispatches of Mouchtar, who had occupied Croia and Albassan, the day of retribution was approaching, and justice had already sharpened her avenging axe. Very few of Ali's troops could be relied on: the warlike beys and agàs of Albania had been nearly exterminated by his severe policy: most of his Mahometan retainers had been long disgusted at the preference given to Greeks in all offices of trust and profit: the Greeks themselves looked up to the Russians as deliverers, and were eager to desert the standard of a Mahometan despot: the fickleness of the Armatoli, of whom Ali had been the greatest persecutor, was already shown: his English allies no longer wanted his assistance, and had moreover paid him their bond by the surrender of Parga: to the French and Russians he could look for

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no aid, for they hated him with a reciprocal hatred; whilst the hardy peasantry of his country, those who, if he had cherished them with common equity and humanity, would have shed their life-blood in his defence, were alienated from him by his odious system of chiflicks, massacres, expatriations, and a thousand other machinations of tyranny.

Accordingly, at the first decisive movement of his opponents, Ali's power began to crumble to pieces around him. All the places on the Eastern side of Pindus submitted to Dram-Ali: Pehlevan Pasha, after having taken Lepanto, attacked and occupied Messolonghi and Vonizza, the strongest places in Acarnania: the capudan-bey having provisioned his fleet, returned and took possession, by force and treachery combined, of all the ports on the Albanian coast except Prevesa, young Mehmet Pasha surrendering Parga after a few broadsides, and transferring him on board the admiral's ship. By Pashou's orders the Rumelie Vasilee Achmet now advanced towards Berat, [illegible] and Avlona obliged Mouchtar Pasha to retreat from his pashalic, and to shut himself up in the great fortress of Argyro-Castro. The surrender of Parga was a signal for the Suliots, of whom considerable numbers still existed in the Ionian Isles and the Neapolitan dominions, to return and act against their ancient foe. Their principal leaders were Noto Botzari and his nephew Marco, the Leonidas of modern Greece, under whom these valiant mountaineers upheld their ancient fame, making many and successful attacks upon those troops of Ali who remained faithful to his cause, in the vicinity of Arta and Cinque Pozzi, and chasing them up to the very gates of the Castron. By one of the articles in their agreement with Pashou Bey, that chief engaged to rein-

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state them in their native mountains; and this above all things animated their zeal and courage. In the mean time Pashou himself advanced his forces to Larissa, from whence he penetrated the defiles of Anovlakia; when the treacherous Mantho, instead of defending his post, went over to the Ottoman standard, and having informed Omer Bey Vrioni of his movement, was followed by that traitor and Alexi Noutza: thus Ali, who with fifteen thousand troops expected to have kept his adversaries in check until events around him should take a favourable turn, found himself suddenly betrayed by his generals, deserted by his army, and reduced to the necessity of defending himself in his last retreat, amidst the fortresses of his capital. These, however, were garrisoned by his most faithful Arnaouts, provisioned for some years, supplied with more than two hundred pieces of artillery, besides Congreve-rockets, and commanded by a skilful engineer: moreover the navigation of the lake was secured by a strong flotilla and the castle of the island.

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CHAPTER IX.

As Pashou Bey was now advancing upon Ioannina, Ali was desirous that the city should neither cover his adversary's approach, nor afford him any advantage of position. He resolved therefore to destroy this ill-fated capital, and gave orders to Caretto for that purpose. I have been informed, indeed, that immediately after the defection of his army, he made application to our Ionian authorities, to know if they would protect him in passing over the channel of Corfu, provided he could escape from the coast. The answer returned is said to have been—that if he could get within the British line of demarcation, i. e. beyond mid-channel, he would then be entitled to protection. His repeated request of an escort to the place of embarkation was refused; but information was secretly conveyed to him, that some English gun-boats would be lying at Butrinto during a certain period: upon them he might seize and pass over in safety; but no open assistance could be given to a declared rebel of the Porte. Ali was now betrayed by his own avarice:

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he hesitated to depart without his treasures, and expected that if he should be discovered in removing them, his Albanian troops would revolt and put him to death. During this vacillation the Ottoman troops advanced and cut off his retreat. As soon, therefore, as this occurred, and his intention of destroying the city was made known, the lake was covered with barks full of women and children of the first families, endeavouring to escape. In the mean time, the tyrant having given his Arnaouts permission to plunder a city which he was unable to defend, the houses were immediately filled with a lawless soldiery. One of the first objects of pillage was the cathedral, where the Greeks, and even the Turks themselves, had deposited their most precious effects. Nothing was respected; the very tombs of the archbishops were broke open in search of precious relics, and the sanctuary was polluted by the blood of the robbers themselves, as they disputed with each other for the possession of the sacred vases. The city offered a most deplorable spectacle on all sides: neither Christian nor Mahometan was respected: the harem of the one, and the gynæcéum of the other, were forced open, and displayed the cruel sight of modesty struggling with violence. Cries, and groans, and the crash of arms resounded on all sides, when a terrible detonation announced the destruction of Ioannina. A shower of shot and shells, grenades and Congreve-rockets, spread carnage and devastation through every quarter of the town for the space of two hours; and Ali, seated on one of the bastions of his fortress, like the exterminating angel, directed that destructive fire, which soon levelled to the ground his once flourishing capital.

Those of the people who could escape from the flames, carrying friends and relatives, half-burned or mutilated by the explosion of shells, women loaded

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with their children, and old men enfeebled by age, had scarcely passed the palisade of mount Pactoras, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the Ottoman army. So far from protecting the unfortunate beings who had escaped the carnage, these Rumelian hordes fell upon defenceless citizens, plundering them without mercy, and tearing their sons and daughters from their arms: uttering the most piercing cries, the poor wretches dispersed, and endeavoured to escape to the mountains; but they were there met by another set of plunderers and assassins, in the savage mountaineers, who had assembled to get their share of booty. Despair itself gave courage and strength to the fugitives: some feeble women succeeded in passing the lofty chain of mount Olitzika into the plains of Thesprotia; others, seized with the pains of premature labour, perished in the forests; many young women, after having disfigured themselves by the most dreadful mutilations, that they might become objects of disgust to the barbarians, like virgin martyrs in the times of persecution, concealed themselves in caverns, where they perished of hunger: all the defiles and paths were strewed with wounded and dying men, or with their corpses: and thus, by the decree of one tyrant, a city containing thirty thousand souls was overwhelmed with unutterable calamities.

The ruins were still smoking, when Pashou Bey, whose forces were now augmented by those under Pehlevan Baba, encamped among them, set up his three horsetails, and was proclaimed Pasha of Ioannina on the 20th of August, 1820. From the bastions of Litaritza Ali heard the acclamations of the Turks, *long live the victorious Ismael Pasha!—long live the glorious Sultan Mahmoud!* when his deposition with its anathema had been read by the Cadi. His answer was a brisk fire from the guns

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and mortars of the fortress; whilst his flotilla, hoisting all its colours, set sail upon the lake and saluted the invaders with cannon-shot whenever they approached the shores.

But though the old vizir was thus intercepted by his foes, he retained an almost impregnable position, with a garrison of eight thousand men, augmented as it had lately been by an Armatoli force under the Palikar Odysseus: he kept the navigation of the lake secure; he possessed great stores of wealth, by the operation of which he expected still to furnish employment for his opponents; and he saw around him many tried warriors, pledged to stand or fall in his cause, not less by their attachment to their chief, than by hatred of his enemies. Having learnt however that some of the palikars, unused to the confinement and restraints of a garrison, were meditating to desert, he resolved to turn this disposition of theirs to his own advantage. Accordingly he directed Odysseus secretly to foment it, to make out a list of the disaffected, and to head them in their desertion. This being done, the fortress was relieved of about fifteen hundred mutinous troops; and the Turks, already straitened for provision and fuel, soon discovered that they had gained no benefit by receiving so many hungry Armatoli into their ranks. Moreover, by the agency of Odysseus, jealousies and suspicions were sown between both parties, until the new-comers in disgust betook themselves to the mountains, and subsisted by cutting off the Turkish convoys and pillaging the country. Previously to this, Odysseus withdrew himself from the scene of action, retreating to his native isle of Ithaca, in expectation of those events which called him back to the regeneration of Greece. This warrior, whose personal appearance, as well as his mental endowments, is said to have brought the

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heroes of the Iliad strongly to mind, owed his rise in Ali's favour to that quality wherein he peculiarly excelled a remarkable swiftness of foot. Relying upon his powers in this respect, he challenged a favourite horse belonging to the vizir, upon condition that if he did not completely tire and beat him in the race, he would lose his own head. The terms were accepted, the scimitar prepared, the course set out upon some rising ground, and the rivals started; when the daring palikar not only kept up with his antagonist in the race, but ran till the noble animal fell down and breathed his last. The victor was immediately taken into high favour, being rewarded with one of the most beautiful women from Ali's harem as a bride, and an order that every official person about the court should present him with a nuptial gift proportionate to the donor's rank.

September was almost at its close, but no progress was made by the Ottoman forces, unprovided as they were with an efficient battering train, and exposed to the privations of a siege in a depopulated country. Ismael Pasha therefore, despairing of immediate success, had recourse to intrigue: accordingly he opened a communication with Vely Pasha, who was now closely blockaded in Prevesa by the Suliots on the land side, and by the Turkish squadron in the harbour, accompanying his letter with a firman of the sultan, appointing him to the Pashalic of St. Jean d'Acre in Syria, upon condition of his immediate surrender. The suggestions of self-interest and fear, backed by the earnest entreaties of his son, who was treated with the most flattering attention on board the Turkish admiral's ship, prevailed over Vely's sense of duty and distrust of Ismael's sincerity. He opened the gates of Prevesa to the beseigers, and repaired on board the Ottoman fleet. A correspondence was im-

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mediately opened between him and Mouchtar, who also was induced, by the offer of a pashalic in Anotolia, to betray his father's cause and surrender the great castle of Argyro-Castro. Being joined by his younger brother Salee Pasha, who left the fortress of Premeti at his call, they both set out, under a Turkish escort, for Constantinople. Before his departure Mouchtar endeavoured also to induce his son Hussein, who commanded at Tepeleni, to betray his trust; but that youth, who had less talent than the other members of Ali's family, seems to have had better principles: assembling his garrison around him, he declared to them the defection of his relatives, and asked whether he and they, who had been singularly honoured with Ali's confidence, should in like manner betray it? The answer of his still faithful Toskides was an unanimous declaration, "that they would perish to a man sooner than act so disgraceful a part."

With the news of this defection a train of battering cannon arrived also at the camp of Ismael Pasha: nothing however could subdue the spirit of the old vizir: in communicating to the garrison the conduct of his sons and grandson, he declared "that he had long considered them unworthy of their race; and that henceforth none but his brave associates should be his sons or heirs."

Discontent, however, soon began to manifest itself on both sides. That of the Turks was fomented by the rude Bulgarian chief Pehlevan Baba Pasha, who, instigated by the hope of plunder, demanded that a general assault should be made upon Ali's fortresses, contrary to the opinion of Ismael, who had not effected a practicable breach, and was unable to bring his troops up under cover. Pehlevan being foiled in his purpose, allowed his barbarian hordes to pillage the country, encouraged insubor-

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dination, and is said even to have entered into a correspondence with the besieged vizir. His sudden death at this time makes it reasonable to suppose that poison effected what could not safely have been done by open force; while his treasure, the fruit of indiscriminate plunder, to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, being forwarded to Constantinople, served to allay that irritation which the slowness of operations was calculated to excite.

On the other side, discord arose between Ali and his Albanian tribes, the Toskides and Djedges, who were indignant at seeing their old master Ibrahim Pasha and his son still confined within the bars of a miserable dungeon. Ali therefore released these victims from his ferocious grasp, and they were received into the Turkish camp: the discontented troops next demanded an increase of pay, which also was conceded: but the crafty vizir on this occasion nearly outwitted himself by recurring to one of his old tricks of policy; for having given orders to his principal commissary, a jew, to raise the price of all provisions sold to the troops, these latter soon discovered the fraud, and made the whole fortress ring with their complaints, among which the nickname of *Ali the retailer* was banded about on all sides: fearful of the consequences, he abandoned his retail trade, and treated his adopted *children* with greater liberality.

Winter was now approaching; and not only did Ismael Pasha begin to feel its effects in a deficiency of fuel and supplies, which were all intercepted by the Armatoli, but the snows of Mount Pindus gave the signal for many beys and agàs to retire with their disbanded forces to their own homes: in addition to this, Ali succeeded in detaching his oldest and most implacable enemies the Suliots from the Ottoman cause: suspicion had for some time entered the

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minds of these mountaineers, to whom a separate camp had been assigned distinct from that of the Turks, and who had been refused permission to attack the forts upon their native hills, though the possession of them had been held out as the reward of their allegiance: these suspicions were still farther augmented by an intercepted letter from Haleb Effendi to Ismael Pasha, which Ali sent to them, and which contained the project of a general massacre of the Greek tribes, among which the Suliots were particularly named; which circumstance is said to have first alarmed the Hetærists, and to have precipitated their movements. Ismael Pasha, on his side, to alarm and terrify his opponent, caused a fictitious rumour to be circulated, that his sons and grandson had been decapitated by order of the Porte. Ali however received the intelligence with apparent indifference, merely saying,—"They betrayed their father, so we will think no more about them:" he encouraged his garrison with the hopes of immense wealth in case of victory; and to those who lamented their private losses he recounted his own: his activity and alacrity never deserted him, though it is said that the fire of his eye was quenched by unceasing care and watching, and his corpulency was extremely reduced: he took sleep only at irregular intervals, resting his head upon the knees of his trusty adherent Athanasi Vayà, whilst Ibrahim Saratchi, who had been his chief groom, kept guard at the door: at break of day he gave audience to his soldiers, often joking with them upon the inertness of their enemies, and the anathemas hurled at his head when he was deposed: he bitterly reviled the Ottoman powers, who, he said, were at war with him for his treasures, which, if they obtained, they should find bathed in blood. Having also about this time received hints respecting the existence of the Hetæria, and of approaching convulsions, he uttered a

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speech of defiance against the Turkish Empire, declaring that in a few months he would shake it to its very foundations.

In the mean time Ismael Pasha received a severe reprimand from the Porte for his dilatory campaign and the inefficiency of his measures. This determined him, though weakened by the dispersion of several tribes, and the departure of Achmet Pasha to the Danube for the purpose of repressing insurrectionary movements in that quarter, to draw closer the line of siege, and to set every engine at work for disseminating seeds of treachery in his adversary's quarters. These attempts, however, were counteracted by Ali with singular dexterity. Finding that his greatest hope of safety lay in producing an universal disaffection to the Ottoman cause, he began to expend his treasures more liberally: to the Suliots in particular he sent a present of two thousand purses, with an order directed to Tahir Abbas, that he should deliver up to them the great fort of Kiaffa: but when they deserted the Ottoman standard, and marched to the banks of Acheron in expectation of their reward, Tahir Abbas, who had received contrary orders in private from his master, refused to admit them, and pointed his guns against their advance. Ali's scheme, however, took full effect: the Suliots having compromised themselves with the Turks, were obliged to retire to the mountains, where they were soon joined by scattered Armatoli, and by eight hundred Zagoriots under Alexi Noutza, whose first defection was now considered to have been only a feint. These troops, under the command of Marco Botzari, so harassed the Ottoman army, and gained so many important victories, that Ismael Pasha made strenuous efforts to recover their allegiance; but in vain: Ali still held out to them great promises, engaging them to assist him only till the month of March, "when

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the Sultan," said he, "shall have so much upon his hands, that he shall receive the law from us." Ismael was thus reduced to the humiliating necessity of raising the siege of Ioannina, and retiring upon Arta. So ended the campaign of 1820.

Whilst Ali took this opportunity of repairing and provisioning his fortresses, his predictions respecting the Ottoman Empire became partly verified; for Ypsilanti now raised the standard of revolt in the Trans-Danubian principalities; but those who flocked around it were too vitiated and degraded to become the faithful champions of liberty; and the fatal battle of Drageschan, wherein a noble band of Hetærists, rivalling the sacred legion of the ancient Thebans, was offered up as a holocaust to their country's glory, delivered these unfortunate provinces to all the atrocities of Turkish vengeance. The flame however, which had been suppressed in the north, burst out with double fury in the south, and received all the encouragement which the old vizir could give. After having so long sustained the character of Nero, he was anxious to appear in the mask of Philopœmen; but the Greeks never could place any confidence in his professions: indeed the "magnificent and awful cause" of liberty required not such defenders; and though he dared to lay his blood-stained fingers on its "ark," the polluting contact did not long remain.

The Sultan, though harassed by this northern revolt, by movements in Servia, and by disputes with Russia, adhered inflexibly to his design of destroying *the old Lion* in his den; for which purpose he withdrew the greatest part of the Ottoman forces from the Morea, and gave his rayahs in that province an extraordinary opportunity of unfurling the standard of independence. Ismael Pasha, having disappointed the expectations of the Divan, was deposed from

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his command of the army in Epirus, which was transferred to Chourschid Pasha of the Morea, an aged but experienced, stern, and inflexible warrior, who, when grand vizir, had put an end to the Servian rebellion under Czerni George. With this new appointment he received the high title of Seraskier of the Porte, and a present of one thousand purses; whilst all the pashas and beys of Roumelia were placed under his immediate orders. In the mean time Ali had not been idle: his policy and bribes had excited a revolt among the Montenegrins and other tribes bordering on Illyricum; the Suliots were confirmed in their alliance by being at length put into possession of their ancient seats; and bands of Armatoli were stationed in the mountain passes to intercept supplies, and to cut off communication between the invaders. By these means Chourschid was obliged to act on the defensive, even before those events occurred in his deserted pashalic, which forced him to dispatch his kiaya, or lieutenant, with a large portion of the army for its defence: and then it was that the savage Albanians under a sanguinary leader followed the shore of the Corinthian gulf devastating the country in their predatory march, raised the siege of Corinth, gave the unfortunate city of Argos to the flames, opened a communication with Nauplia, and threw themselves into Tripolizza: at the same time another detachment of Chourschid's army entered Bœotia, burned the city of Livadia, and occupied Thebes; whilst Omer Bey Vrioni with seven hundred cavalry advanced towards Athens.

In the mean time, Ali, after having seen the defection of his warriors and sons, the devastation of his country, and the destruction of his capital; after having been confined during eighteen months to his fortresses, shaken by the thunders of war, and threatened with assault by numerous and exasperated foes, in the month of April found his

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hopes ratified, and a grand diversion in his favour made in Southern Greece. Neither the nature nor the limits of this work will permit a detailed narrative of the Greek war of independence; but I trust I shall not appear to trespass on the province of the historian, if I recount somewhat more at large those events which are peculiarly connected with our hero.

On the fourth of this month the insurrection burst forth at Calavrita under the sacred auspices of the Archbishop Germanos; it then caught Patras; and from thence spread rapidly over the Morea. Sparta straitway roused herself from that lethargic slumber with which she had been reproached by the modern Alcæus:* nor did Athens, that old ally against barbarian hosts, delay her answer to the call. The Bey Petri Mavromicheli, with the descendants of the Eleuthero-Lacones, passed the Mainiot mountains, and gave confidence to the revolters. Colocotroni, who had served with distinction in the English service, came over from Zante with his gallant nephew Niketas; whilst Andreas Metaxà, with a gallant band of Ionians from Cephalonia, attacked the strong fortress of Lalla and forced its garrison to retire on Patras. Odysseus left his rocky isle, to occupy with hardy troops the fastnesses of Mount Helicon and Parnassus; while Lower Epirus fled to arms under the conduct of Zonka, Vlakopoulo, and the heroic Karaiskaki. The islands of the Archipelago quickly caught the flame: Psara, which standing in advance of the rest was most exposed to peril, became the first to dare it; and its spirited example was soon followed

* Σπάρτα Σπάρτα τι κοιμᾶσθε
Ὕπνον λήθαργον βαθὺν;
Ξύπνησον κράξε Ἀθήναις
Σύμμαχον παντοτεινήν.

Riga's War-song, stanza β.

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by Hydra, Spezia, and Poros. These little rocks of the Ægean, unnoticed and almost unknown during the glorious era of ancient Greece, owe their population solely to the flight of exiles from the persecution of their infidel oppressors; but during the late war they had acquired a marine, the valorous achievements of which, under those intrepid commanders Canaris, Sakturi, Tombasi, and Miaulis, have shed a glory round their country little inferior to that of Salamis and Mycale. The Greeks of Candia, with the warriors of Sphakia at their head, engaged their Mahometan foes in deadly though unequal combat: Athens was soon attacked, but the Turks retired into the citadel, taking with them a number of Greeks as hostages, who were eventually all put to death: the Acropolis was then bombarded, but without effect, from the Hill of the Museum; and in about three weeks the city of Minerva was again in the possession of its infidel lords: these, assisted by a body of allies from Negropont, took as terrible a revenge upon the revolters for their temporary exclusion, as Jussouf Pasha did, about the same time, upon the miserable Greeks of Patras. As the insurrection spread through the provinces, the Turks, wherever they were few compared with their Christian vassals, retired into fortresses and strong cities; but in revenge for this, indiscriminate slaughter and horrid tortures awaited the unfortunate Greeks in all places where they were outnumbered by the Mussulmen. I do not mean to assert that no outrages were committed by the other party; but these were few and slight in the comparison—they were committed by miserable slaves, having the cruelties and injustice of centuries to avenge upon their inhuman oppressors; they were not instigated, but repressed by the public authorities; they were directed principally by men against men, very rarely against women and children; and whilst on one side

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blood was shed by drops, on the other it ran in torrents. The fury of the Sultan and his officers at the intelligence of these insurrectionary movements, may be conceived more easily than described. The Greeks of Constantinople were actually hunted down and shot like wild beasts in the streets; and the Fanar was almost cleared of inhabitants: some of its wealthy and cultivated families escaped to Odessa; but of those which were taken, the men fell victims to the sword, the women and children to the brutal lusts of their persecutors. These atrocities were but too faithfully imitated in the other large cities of the empire, particularly in Smyrna, where the Turkish populace is noted for its ferocity. At length the Sultan resolved to strike a great blow, and to awe his rebellious rayahs, if possible, into obedience by a terrible example.

Gregorio Patriarch of Constantinople was a man venerated by all ranks of people for his talents, his disposition, and his truly apostolical character. This excellent person, after having been compelled to publish an anathema against his insurgent brethren, was suddenly seized by some Turkish soldiers as he came from the performance of divine worship on Easter Sunday, and hanged ignominiously in his pontifical robes, before the gate of the patriarchal church: three archbishops also in his train were carried off and executed in a similar manner, and eight priests of his household shared the same fate: the Christian churches were then attacked and pillaged, and desecrated by every possible act which impiety and malignity could suggest. The bodies of those eminent personages, having been exposed to the contumely of the populace during the whole day, were then cut down, dragged through the streets by the heels, and cast into the sea by Jews, as the consummation of ignominy in the eyes of Christians. The nominal pretence for this im-

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pious cruelty was a suspicion that the unfortunate patriarch had assisted the wretched family of Prince Morusi, lately executed as a traitor, in their escape from Constantinople. The atrocious deed occasioned some slight remonstrances from the ambassadors of Christian powers at the Porte, and led eventually to the recall of Baron Strogonoff, the Russian minister. The body of Gregorio, having been found floating on the waves of the Bosphorus, was secretly conveyed to Odessa, where it was interred with the honours due to his exalted rank and character. For several days after this execution, unlimited permission for the slaughter of Christians was granted to the licentious soldiery; when so many victims perished by their hands, so many by the sword of the executioner, and so many fled from the scene of horror, that fears were entertained for the safety of the capital, which depends principally upon the industry and activity of its Greek population for the necessaries of life.

But these transactions, instead of crushing, served only to rouse the indignant spirit of the insurgents throughout all the provinces to tenfold exertions, and to acts of dreadful retribution. The priests also and caloyers, thinking that they and their religion were destined to destruction, contributed their influence to inflame the people, and in many instances took up the sword and joined their ranks. The contest now became stamped with a character of peculiar ferocity, when Demetrius Ypsilanti, brother to Prince Alexander, arrived in Peloponnesus, with a small train of followers, but with a very considerable sum of money, and was almost unanimously placed at the head of the Moreote forces: nor did the people derive small encouragement from the persuasion that Russia entered into their designs. A central junta,

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or senate, was now established at Calamata under Petri Bey; proclamations were issued to the Greeks, as well as to foreign powers, invoking their sympathy; and the introduction of some sort of order and government was attempted. The Turks, on the other hand, began in haste to prepare a naval armament, but were sadly at a loss how to man their fleets, having taken the precaution to imprison or put to death most of their Greek sailors, the only effective part of their marine: in this predicament the Sultan procured permission from the foreign ambassadors to enlist subjects of European powers, then numerous in his capital. In the mean time the Divan, after long debates upon the question of a general massacre, contented itself with ordering the governors of provinces to disarm the Christian population; a measure which led to innumerable acts of cruelty on one side, and of retaliation on the other: moreover, soon afterwards prohibitory orders were issued, forbidding the unfortunate rayahs to leave the country, under pain of death if taken in the attempt; the Christian ambassadors were induced to promise that their consular agents should no longer grant a refuge to the proscribed race; and European ships were subjected to the search of Turkish officers. Dreadful outrages were committed at Smyrna and Adrianople, which were repaid by the Greeks upon the Mahometans captured in vessels, or taken at the surrender of fortresses, particularly that of Navarino, where the Turks defended themselves with so much obstinacy, as to eat not only the flesh of horses, dogs, and every disposable animal, but the bark of trees and shrubs, mixed up with their scanty supply of meal: nay, it is even said that human corpses furnished them with sustenance, until every hope of relief vanished. It was at this siege that the Grecian heroine Bobolina first

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distinguished herself. That high-spirited female belonged to one of the first families in the Isle of Spezzia; her husband had been executed by the Sultan on a frivolous and false pretence, and for nine years she never put off her mourning weeds, or let the desire of vengeance sleep in her breast: when the insurrection first broke out, she employed the remains of her wealth in the equipment of three vessels of war, with which she ranged herself among the captains of the fleet, deterred by no dangers or fatigues from encountering the duties both of naval and military warfare. About this time also, the Greek army was joined by Mr. Gordon, a Scotch gentleman of great enthusiasm, who accepted the situation of aid-de-camp to Prince Demetrius Ypsilanti, and liberally distributed the resources of a large fortune in aid of Grecian independence. Had Ypsilanti possessed as much practical skill as courage and patriotism, he stood in a position capable of forwarding the highest views for his country and himself. Success now began to attend the naval armaments of the insurgents: they had the good fortune to take by surprise a Turkish corvette and two brigs, in the roads of Milo: they also captured many Ottoman merchantmen in the Archipelago and other parts of the Levant: but having taken a large vessel full of pilgrims from Mecca, near the island of Cyprus, they showed themselves too strongly inclined to retaliation, by putting them all to death, after having insulted them with the offer of baptism, which was indignantly refused.

The affairs of the Morea also went on favourably to the Greeks. Their general congress had removed from Calamata to Argos: Napoli di Romania, the strongest fortress in Peloponnesus, was invested by their troops;

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Patras was taken, though the Turks kept possession of the citadel, and by frequent sorties laid the town in ruins. The successes of the insurgents in Europe, and the revolt of Samos, which now took place, were revenged by the Mussulmen in the most atrocious manner, upon the unfortunate Greeks of Asia Minor. An immense number of furious fanatics assembling together in the vicinity of Scala Nova, committed terrible outrages; and the pacific city of Aïvali, inhabited solely by Greeks, where their most extensive modern academy for literature and science had been established, was soon afterwards involved in utter ruin under the pretence of a conspiracy. About five thousand were butchered in cold blood: all the men indeed who could not escape on board the fleet, young and old, were murdered: the women and boys whose beauty made them valuable prizes, were sent to the slave-markets of Smyrna and Constantinople; the buildings were all burnt to the ground; and of this flourishing city and its industrious population nothing was left but bones and ashes. These outrages, which extended to the surrounding country, seem to have been perpetrated in revenge for the disasters suffered by the Turkish fleet, which had been compelled to retire with disgrace into the Dardanelles, after the loss of a large line of battle-ship, to which the Greeks set fire in the Gulf of Adramyttium.

The successes, however, which the insurgents experienced in the Morea, together with their spirited proclamations, had the effect of drawing powerful succours to their cause from different parts of Europe, in foreign adventurers, as well as in arms and other equipments for their troops. The Greek merchants of Leghorn, alone, are said to have forwarded supplies to the value of

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20,000*l.* By these means, whilst Ali Pasha continued to engage the attention of a large Turkish army in Epirus, Ulysses gained considerable advantages in Thessaly, and a general insurrection of the inhabitants of Cassandra and its surrounding district, forced the Mahometans in that quarter to retire into Saloniki for safety. Revolts in Cyprus and in Candia were followed by the most horrible massacres: the Russian minister in vain protested against these sanguinary measures, and in vain endeavoured to secure privileges and protection to the suffering Christians: the ultimatum of his government being rejected, and insults offered to his own person, he left the capital and retired to Odessa. The praiseworthy efforts of Lord Strangford, the English minister, had subsequently a happier effect in mitigating the ferocity of Turkish vengeance. The Austrians appear, throughout the whole contest, both publicly and privately, to have done all in their power to increase the evils of suffering Christians, to stifle the spirit of liberty in its birth, and to amalgamate their own cause with that of ruthless Mussulmen, impalers of mankind.

On the 3d of August, a Greek force under Cantacuzene, one of Ypsilanti's companions, signalized itself by the reduction of Napoli di Malvoisia, a strong place on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus, the cannon of which was conveyed over the mountains and employed in the siege of Tripolizza. The massacre however of Turkish captives, which ensued after the surrender of that place, is the deepest crime which attaches itself to the Greek insurrection: nothing can be said for it, except that it was perpetrated by some fierce and lawless banditti of the mountains who inflicted this disgrace upon the righteous cause of freedom. Still the origin of all these evils must be referred to the Turkish government itself, which, far from

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affording protection to its subjects, drove them by its cruelties and exactions to take refuge in their mountain-holds, and to exist in a state of barbarism and of warfare against all mankind. In the mean time the naval armaments of the two powers combated with various success: several Turkish transports were attacked and burnt on the coast of Natolia; and in the beginning of October the Ottoman fleet chased a small squadron of the enemy into the Port of Galaxithi, on the Gulf of Lepanto, which it destroyed together with the town. After this exploit, and having furnished Patras with the necessary materials of war, it swept the coasts of the Morea and then separated into two divisions: one of these threatened Hydra, without daring to attack it, carried off a quantity of small craft from various other islands, and sailed up the Dardanelles with a number of Christian captives, hanged to the yard-arms, some by the neck, others by the hair, many by the feet, and several in a manner too atrocious to mention.

While the Turkish fleet was engaged in the destruction of Galaxithi, the army of the Morea,* which had been left under the command of the Bey of Maina, was joined by a large corps under Colocotroni before Tripolizza: this city was garrisoned by above ten thousand troops under the Kiayah Bey, and contained near thirty thousand inhabitants. On the 15th of October, after many assaults had been made in vain, Colocotroni had nearly succeeded in gaining possession of the place by the treachery of the Albanians in the garrison, when an accidental circumstance introduced the besiegers at once into the city. A few Greek soldiers were bartering fruit, according to custom, with

* Ypsilanti had been called off, by some untoward circumstances, to the neighbourhood of Patras.

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the sentinels at the Gate of Argos, when the Turks were imprudent enough to assist them in mounting the wall with their large baskets of grapes: but the Greeks having gained the summit, pulled down the unguarded Mahometans, and raised the standard of the Cross: this emblem acted like an electric shock to the Christian troops, which rushed from all sides to the assault; and in spite of a brisk fire of cannon and small arms from the citadel and ramparts, burst through the gates or scaled the walls. The Turks for a long time obstinately defended themselves in the streets and houses; but the Moreotes, flushed by success, and stimulated by the injuries of so many ages, pushed on, and quelled all opposition in the blood of their enemies: six thousand Turks are said to have fallen, and many were made prisoners; the loss of the Greeks being estimated at about five hundred. The Albanians marched out of the town, as the Greeks entered it, without any hostilities ensuing; and the route of these barbarians, when out of the territory of the Morea, was marked, according to custom, by the most enormous excesses. The atrocities which ensued in the devoted city of Tripolizza are too horrible for publication: they excited such disgust in the mind of Ypsilanti, that he put forth a proclamation expressive of his indignation, and threatened to withdraw himself entirely from the cause, if such enormities were repeated. The plunder of a place, into which the principal Turkish families of Peloponnesus had retreated, with their treasures, at the commencement of the insurrection, richly rewarded the captors: after an immense booty had been surreptitiously carried off, especially by the Mainotes, twenty millions of piastres are said to have been paid into the public treasury: but the greatest acquisition to the Greeks was a vast quantity of arms, ammunition, and other necessaries for carrying on

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the war. Their cause, however, suffered much in the eyes of Europe, by the cruel, and in some instances, perfidious revenge which they took upon their conquered enemies. The general disgust was increased by the proclamation of Ypsilanti, and by the retirement of Mr. Gordon from the service, though the motives which actuated that gentleman were greatly misrepresented, and accounts unfavourable to the Greeks were attributed to him, when they really came from a person of the same name attached to our embassy at Vienna. The conduct of the Greeks at Tripolizza, when they descended from the high ground of patriots to that of assassins, gave cause for their calumniators to rejoice, and stopped the succours which their friends were preparing to send them, cannot indeed be defended: still it admits of some palliation. The Turks had already shown, on their side, that the war was one of extermination: nor was an instance known of their having spared the lives of Greeks taken in arms since the commencement of the insurrection, or of having preserved their wives and children from pollution: not only did centuries of the most dreadful outrages goad the Greeks to revenge; but the massacres of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aïvali, the murder of their patriarch, and the desecration of their temples, were fresh in their recollection: above all, when they entered Tripolizza, a city which was proverbial for Turkish cruelties and oppression, one of the first spectacles that met their eyes was that of their hostages, to the number of three hundred, lying murdered in the streets. With swords in their hands, they must have been more than men if they had not avenged these enormities, and the strictest moralist would perhaps make some allowance for the crimes which their fury instigated them to commit. Let it be said also to their credit, that they spared, in this

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indiscriminate slaughter, the life of Kiamil Bey of Corinth, on account of his humane character, and restored to the inexorable Chourschid Pacha the females of his harem, at the intercession of the British authorities in Corfu.

But though the insurgents lost ground in public opinion by the atrocities which followed the capture of Tripolizza, yet they gained great advantages, not only in the *materiel* of war, but in that consolidation of their cause which thence ensued. All ranks were now compromised; and all felt assured that liberty or death must be their ultimate fate. The extent also of this victory gave them a consequence in their own eyes which they did not possess before, and the conquest of so powerful a capital promised them a speedy reduction of the province. A senate was immediately organized at Tripolizza, which was subsequently convened in Corinth, soon afterwards in Epidaurus, and finally transferred to Napoli di Romania, the Gibraltar of the Morea.

These great successes were followed by some brilliant movements of Ulysses in Thessaly, who penetrated to the very environs of Larissa: at the same time, the Ottoman government was seriously alarmed by an account of insurrections in Servia, as well as of hostilities actually commenced against its eastern provinces by the Schah of Persia. A great victory gained by this monarch over the Ottoman forces near Bagdad, and the necessity of watching the motions of an immense Russian army upon the northern boundaries of the empire, occasioned infinite embarrassment to the Sublime Porte, and rendered it incapable of sending against the insurgents that overwhelming force which would probably have crushed their rising hopes for ever.

Nor was it by land only that the Greeks were successful over their enemies. The conquest of Tripolizza was succeeded by a naval victory gained over the Ottoman fleet off Cape Cheri, on the coast of Zante, soon after it

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had sailed from the Gulf of Lepanto, and burned the town of Galaxithi. But though their victories by sea under the Admirals Miaulis and Tombasi, and the extraordinary efficiency of their fire-ships under the renowned Canaris, were received with rejoicing by the Greeks in arms; yet these very successes brought down upon the unoffending part of the population the unrelenting vengeance of the Turks; who, not content with the sacrifice of individual victims, often devoted whole settlements to destruction.

The advantages already mentioned were succeeded by others equally important. The Suliots and Armatoli under their distinguished leaders Botzari and Rhango gained considerable victories in Epirus; and though the patriots experienced great losses at Cassandra and Mount Athos, and met with a repulse in the siege of Napoli di Romania and the Castle of Patras, yet these were amply repaid by the surrender of Athens, Thebes, Triccala, and Pharsala, to Ulysses and his colleague Pallascas; but more particularly by that of Corinth, to the army under Ypsilanti and Colocotroni. At this latter place great treasures were found; part of which was immediately distributed among the troops: hither also was transferred the provisional government of Greece, of which Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, of a distinguished Fanariot family, was elected president.

Though the new year (1822) began under such auspicious circumstances, it was not long before fortune began to frown. The Ottoman fleet, having left the Dardanelles, threw succours into the strong fortresses of Coron, Modon, and Patras; and being joined by a squadron from Algiers, gained the advantage in an engagement with the Hydriots under the Admiral Tombasi: the Samians also having made a descent upon the Isle of Scio, in which they put a considerable number of Turks to the

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sword, occasioned a renewal of the most horrid massacres in Smyrna and Constantinople, at which latter place eighty hostages of the first families in Scio were instantly given up to the executioner. The Turkish fleet also landed its troops upon the unfortunate island, where they committed those atrocious enormities which filled the slave-markets of Asia and Africa with miserable victims, and all hearts in Christendom with horror, except those of Prince Metternich's disciples.

It is time however, after the exposition which has been given of early events in the Greek insurrection, to return to the hero of our tale, whom we left encompassed by his foes within his fortresses of Ioannina.

Chourschid Pasha arrived in Epirus in the month of February 1821. Having retained Ismael Pasha in command of a division of his army at Arta, and entrusted other portions to Mahomet Dram-Ali and Omer Bey Vrioni, he entered into negotiations with the old Vizir; but found him too elated by the insurrectionary movements in Greece, and too suspicious of his adversaries, to accept any offer of accommodation, until the Turkish army should retreat beyond the barriers of Epirus. Such terms, however, were not to be accepted by Chourschid Pasha, who accordingly took the field, but found his supplies and communication between his detached forces, cut off by the Suliots, the Armatoli, the mountain Kleftes, and the warlike chieftains of Epirus, who thought the present dissensions might give them an opportunity of recovering their ancient independence. Ali moreover entered into correspondence with the Mainotes, assisting them not only by his money, but by his influence with the Albanians in different districts of that province; and when, during this summer, the insurrection extended itself to Etolia and Acarnania, and Prince Mavrocordato repaired thither for

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the purpose of establishing an executive government, he eagerly entered into his views, and engaged the Suliots to an active co-operation with him. To counteract these movements, and to prevent the Ottoman army from being hemmed in by its adversaries, Chourschid Pasha dispatched a corps under Omer Vrioni towards that part of Pindus which is called Agrafa, another under Pliassa Pasha to Etolia, and a third under Joussouf Pasha of Negropont to the district of Acarnania; whilst the garrisons of the important places of Prevesa and Parga were strengthened and kept firm in their allegiance by the presence of the capudan-bey and his squadron. Exasperated, however, at the opposition and delay which he experienced; discovering also, or suspecting, that a secret correspondence was kept up by Ali's exiled sons with the warlike chiefs and clans of Albania, he communicated his knowledge or his suspicions to the Porte; and that power, which considers the life of man but as dust on the balance in which its interests are weighed, commissioned a capigi-bashi to put an end to their machinations for ever. The only observation made by Ali, when the news of their decapitation reached him, was this—"they betrayed their father, let us think of them no more."

On the 24th of July, the fortress on the island of the lake took fire by some accident, and was consumed with all its magazines; yet the old vizir's courage and constancy never forsook him: he cheerfully parted with his luxuries, or shared them with his companions, displayed the utmost vigilance and alacrity in all the duties of a commander, and seemed to be resolved, if he could not live a sovereign, at least to die a soldier. In the beginning of September Chourschid Pasha advanced from his entrenched camp, and gave battle to a large insurgent force in the vicinity of Cinque Pozzi; in which post, after

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having completely routed his opponents, he established himself, and kept up a communication with his main body before Ioannina.

He now began, according to the approved system of Turkish warfare, by bribery and promises to detach the Albanian chiefs from Ali's cause, and his confidential friends from his service; being empowered by the Porte to concede any terms to any officer, civil or military, except the old vizir himself. Ali in the mean time kept a watchful eye upon the movements in the Morea, assisted the besiegers of Tripolizza with a considerable sum of money, urged them to the most strenuous efforts, and though he thought only of himself, endeavoured to convince them that he had nothing more at heart than the independence of Greece.

These negotiations, however, were not unknown to Chourschid Pasha, who having communicated his intelligence to the Porte, procured a large reinforcement of troops about the middle of November, which, added to those he had some time before received from the districts of Bosnia and Erzegovina, swelled his army to the number of more than twenty thousand men. The blockade of Ioannina was now strictly commenced; an assault was daily expected; but the old Lion's courage did not yet fail; for he still boasted that before the month of February he would plant the Greek standard upon the fortress of Adrianople. Events within his own territories seemed at first to justify his vaunting language: the combined army of Greeks and Albanians besieging Arta, succeeded in taking that place on the 24th of November, when Ismael Pasha fell into the hands of the Suliots. Ali earnestly solicited them to give up his old enemy to his vengeance; but there was no mode of conveying him to Ioannina with security:

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thus the records of torture lost what might have formed their most edifying page; and the contest of ingenuity in this infernal art may now be considered as remaining doubtful between Ali Pasha and the Holy Inquisition. Ismael having made his escape from the Suliots, retired to his own countrymen, by whom he was sent to Constantinople, where he was instantly required to contribute his head for an ornament to the Sublime Porte.

But when Ali reckoned upon the efforts made by the Greeks in the cause of independence, for his own liberation, he reckoned without his host. The cause of liberty did not advance rapidly enough to shelter him from the coming storm. The defection of the Mahometan Albanians in Arta soon delivered up that city again to the Turkish forces; and the brave Marco Botzari retired to his countrymen on the Acherontian mountains: moreover, the capture of Tripolizza was followed by quarrels and dissensions among the Greek chiefs, each jealous of the other, and all contending for pre-eminence; whilst the Mahometans on the contrary appeared to gain new vigour and activity from their reverses.

In the mean time being closely pressed, and his communication with the opposite land being cut off by a flotilla which the besiegers had equipped on the lake, Ali yielded to the entreaties of his surrounding adherents, especially of his favourite wife Vasilikee, and opened a communication with his enemy: but when Chourschid endeavoured to inveigle him into his toils by promising him a pardon from the Sultan, whom he knew to be inexorable, Ali saw through his wiles and broke off the negotiation: Chourschid, however, gained one advantage, for he contrived to sow the seeds of treachery in Ali's garrison, which speedily brought forth their detestable fruit. Caretto,

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the Neapolitan engineer, first deserted to the Turks and pointed their guns, with precision and effect, upon the fortress which he had so long defended. Ali, conscious of having detained this man by force in his dominions, and also of having subjected him to a severe imprisonment after the affair of Gelisem, gave orders that two of his most trusty guards should keep a constant watch, and put him instantly to death if he should attempt to make his escape: this caution, however, was taken in vain; a slight breach having been made in the wall of Litaritza, and a party of Turks being in readiness to cover his retreat, Caretto suddenly threw himself down by that opening into the fosse, and escaped unhurt by the shots fired after him, into the seraskier's camp: against this very breach he now pointed the Turkish artillery, and soon made the garrison perceive a difference in its effect: this, added to an infectious disorder which had raged some time in the fortress, gave to Tahir Abbas and Mouhardar Agà, two of Ali's most confidential officers, corrupted by the seraskier, an opportunity of seducing about five-hundred Arnaouts to betray their master, and open the gates of Litaritza, during the confusion of an assault. Ali, as he retired with about a hundred of his still faithful followers, sprung a mine, which had been long prepared under the fortress, and laid it in ruins. He then shut himself up in the Castron within a large tower, near the tomb of his wife Ermineh, strongly fortified and constructed with three stories: in the lower one was the magazine, containing an immense quantity of gunpowder, over which Kûtchuk Achmet, or *little* Achmet, a man of the most daring intrepidity, and the most faithful of his devoted slaves, held constant watch with a lighted match, ready at his master's signal to blow

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the whole into the air: in the middle story was the old Lion's den; and at the top were those treasures to which he clung even on the brink of the grave, and which were now the cause of great anxiety to Chourschid Pasha, who deprecated nothing more than Ali's declared resolution to scatter them in the air, and himself with them, sooner than surrender to his enemies.

Chourschid having constructed batteries on the site of Litaritza, which commanded the Castron, and completely cut off Ali from all communication with his allies, declared, for the purpose of intimidation, that he would soon open a fire which should save the old vizir from the necessity of committing suicide. These threats being credited by Vasilikee and the garrison, who could scarcely be expected to enter into those designs which despair had dictated, they induced him, after much negotiation, to hold a personal conference with the seraskier. It then appeared that Chourschid was more than a match for Ali in the craft and subtlety of Ottoman diplomacy. He assured the vizir that he was his best friend, that he had lately held frequent communications with the Porte on his account, that he had procured for him a promise of pardon, with liberty of retiring to any place which pleased him, with half his treasures. This was a masterly stroke of policy: had the offer of pardon been unaccompanied with permission to retain any part of his wealth, Ali, who was as much attached to it as to life itself, never would have yielded: had the whole been allowed him, he would have suspected the deceit: he now consented to exchange his present residence for one upon the island; and thither he repaired, after being assured that every thing in the citadel should remain upon the same footing as he might leave it: but he trusted more to his faithful Achmet, whom he

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ordered to remain with a lighted match at the door of the magazine, ready to blow it up at his order, or in case the enemy should attempt to gain possession of the place.

Being blinded by this specious method of proceeding, he repaired with about a dozen of his officers to the island of the lake. The seraskier had ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, in the most superb style possible, in the very monastery, nay, it is said in the very apartment, where the unfortunate Mustafà Pasha of Delvino had been starved to death by his inexorable decree. Here he was treated magnificently for several days, and had various conferences with the Turkish officers, of whom many had formerly been in his service: all gave him strong assurance of pardon; and this confidence was increased by his considering that the fatal match was in the hands of Achmet, and thinking that his head without his riches would be no particular object of gratification to the Sultan.

Such was the posture of affairs on the 5th of February 1822, when Chourschid Pasha dispatched his selictar to announce to Ali the arrival of the firman with his pardon. He was congratulated upon this intelligence, and requested to show a corresponding sense of the favour by a ready and cheerful submission, and by ordering Achmet to extinguish his torch.

The vizir's eyes were opened by these demands; but it was now too late. He answered, that upon quitting the citadel he had commanded Achmet to obey his verbal order only, and that no other would have any effect upon that trusty agent; he requested liberty therefore to go and give the order in person. This permission being refused, a long debate ensued, in which Ali exerted all his address; but in vain. The attendants of the Seraskier gave him the strongest assurances, even swearing upon the Koran, that there was no intention to deceive him.

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After some hesitation, he demanded a sight of the firman, and a forged instrument was put into his hands. Feeling that nothing could now alter his situation, but determined to make every exertion possible for his own preservation, he requested the signature and oath of the Pasha, and of his principal officers, to the truth of the deed and their fidelity in the observance of it. This being done to his satisfaction, he drew from his bosom the half of a ring which corresponded to another half which Achmet had in his possession. "Go," said he, "present this to that ferocious lion, and he will be changed into a timid and obedient lamb." So it happened: when the slave saw the token from his master, he instantly prostrated himself upon the ground and extinguished the match; but before he could rise again he was transfixed by the poignards of assassins. Upon the vizir's order being shown to the garrison, the imperial standard was hoisted upon his last strong-hold, and his power was gone.

During these transactions Ali was seated in the convent amongst a few remaining friends, who were, for the most part, worn out by watching and fatigue: he was himself suffering under a want of repose and an extreme depression of spirits, though his features did not even in this extremity betray his inward emotions. He sat opposite the door of the audience chamber, when, about five o'clock in the afternoon, Chourschid's kiaya Mehmet Pasha entered with his guards, and began a friendly conversation. Among other things, he desired to know from Ali if he was in want of any provision; and was answered, that a supply of meat would be agreeable: at the same time the old vizir hinted that he had another request to make, though he was partly prevented by religious scruples; but upon being pressed to make known his wishes, he declared that his age and infirmities re-

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quired the support of a little wine: this also Mehmet readily promised to procure for him; and after some time spent in conversing on various topics, he arose to take his leave. Both of them being pashas of the same rank, Ali rose at the same time; and whilst he was in the act of bowing profoundly in return for a similar obeisance made by Mehmet, this latter plunged a poignard into his back with such force that it pierced his heart and passed out at his left breast. Ali Pasha fell dead at the feet of the atrocious murderer, who gloried in this treacherous act: he fell, a victim to that deceit of which he had so often made others feel the sting; nor perhaps can a stronger case be found to exemplify the adage of the Roman poet:

Nec lex est justior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Mehmet, after this bloody deed, went out and announced the death of Ali to his friends: some little confusion arose, and some of his adherents shared the fate of their master, after having sacrificed a few of the Turks to his Manes. Tranquillity, however, was soon restored, amidst general shouts and exclamations of "Long live the Sultan!" "long live his victorious seraskier Chourschid Pasha!" Ali's head having been severed from his body, the latter was buried with eastern pomp and solemnity in the tomb of his first wife Ermineh; the former was carefully embalmed and sent to Constantinople, where it arrived on the 23d of February, together with his wife Vasilikee, his little grandson Ismael Bey, and a considerable portion of his treasures, under custody of the selictar. This officer was received at the Porte, like a conqueror, amidst the acclamations of the populace; and his dispatches were presented in great state to the Sultan by the Grand Vizir himself. The next day saw the *pointed moral of our tale:*

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that head, at the sight of which so many victims had trembled, and before which so many slaves had bowed, was exhibited to public view in the great court of the seraglio, laid out upon a charger, and supported by a low marble pillar: there stood a bostangi by its side, with his high bonnet on his head and a white stave in his hand, turning the dish round upon its pivot that all might see the grisly countenance of the rebel, and the long white beard which still flowed from his chin. Over it was suspended a fetfa or superscription, the purport of which went to declare,

"That it was notorious to all the world, how Ali Pasha of Tepeleni for thirty to forty years past had received innumerable favours from the Sublime Porte; that many domains and districts had been confided to his administration; that he, with his children and relations, had enjoyed numberless marks of the imperial bounty; but that, far from showing gratitude for this, he dared, contrary to the will of the Sublime Porte, to oppress the people both by deceit and by force; that history does not contain an example of such profound malignity as his: that, occupied incessantly in his culpable projects, he promoted rebellion both within and without his own territories, to the ruin of the unfortunate people confided to his trust by the Supreme Being: that from some he took their goods, from others their lives and honour, as the cities of Jenischer, of Monastir, of Saragol, and others, can testify; whilst he frequently carried off entire families and rendered destitute the hearths of the Albanians: that for a long time the Porte remonstrated with him on these enormities, but without effect. He continued his criminal course, and pushed his audacity so far as to fire upon some of his adversaries, domiciliated at Constantinople itself, the residence of the Calife, the very centre of security.

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"That after this open violation of the rights of Majesty, which rendered a public example necessary, he was deprived of his dignity, and another charged with the administration of his government: that he then threw off the mask, raised the flag of rebellion, and entrenched himself in the imperial fortress of Ioannina: that, supposing, in the illusions of his vanity, he could brave the power of the Sublime Porte, he undertook at length to realise that plan of treason which he so long had meditated: that the insurrection of the Greeks broke out; and Ali, giving himself up to his projects of vengeance, employed vast sums in arming the people of the Morea and other provinces against the children of the Faith: that this last proof of his perversity of course rendered his condemnation inevitable; for the Holy Law, as well as the safety of the empire, demanded his destruction: that he had been made prisoner by the victorious seraskier of Rumelia, Chourschid Achmet Pasha, and the sentence of death launched against him in the Sublime Fetfa of the Mufti, had been executed in conformity with the orders of his Highness. Behold, then, the head separated from the body of this traitor to his religion, Ali Pasha of Tepeleni."

So terminated this Albanian kleft's eventful career: and what sources of reflection does it open to the mind! Our limits, however, will not permit us to waste time upon the common-place topics of ambition, the height to which it soars, and from which it is generally precipitated when unconnected with political wisdom and with private virtue. But one observation we must be permitted to make upon that partially true and partially false inscription, which was exhibited with the head of Ali Pasha, that his tyranny was not half so intolerable to his subjects, nor so prejudicial to the best interests of humanity, as that of his conqueror.

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The head of this extraordinary personage narrowly escaped the subsequent degradation of becoming a public spectacle to the English populace, and of making a circuit of the European capitals: for Dr. Walsh, who saw the exhibition in the seraglio court, informs us, that a merchant of Constantinople offered a large sum for it, with such a speculation in view, but was outbid by a dervish named Solyman, who had been one of Ali's confidential agents, though he had quitted his service owing to certain differences in opinion. This pious man obtained also the heads of Ali's three sons, and of his grandson Mehmet Pasha, which he deposited, as well as that of the old vizir, in a spacious sepulchre near the gate of Selyvria, erecting also five tombstones of white marble, each ornamented, according to the Turkish fashion, with a sculptured turban, and declaring the titles of the deceased.*

It would be unfair, even to the character of Ali Pasha himself, not to sum up his vices and his virtues, and endeavour to form some estimate of the whole. Therefore, notwithstanding the fear of having already dwelt too much upon this portion of my work, I shall trespass a little longer on the reader's patience.

In estimating any character, we must not be dazzled by a name: the splendor of conquest is apt to mislead the judgment, and throw into shade those vices which darken and deform the portrait. The epithet "great" must not be indiscriminately applied to the hero who treads the strait path of glory for the advantage of his fellow-creatures, and to the daring adventurer, who, following the crooked ways of an interested policy, and unrestrained by any conscientious scruples, practises on the simplicity and

* See Dr. Walsh's Journey, &c., p. 50.

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abuses the confidence of mankind, for the organization of individual despotism.

The great basis of Ali's character was extreme selfishness; and he possessed many qualities, positive and negative, natural and acquired, which were well-adapted to promote this ruling passion. He had few feelings in common with the rest of men: he regarded all as objects calculated to advance his own interests, and his very successes resulted as much from a deficiency in human sympathies and moral virtues, as from his talents and his courage. No pity, no remorse ever turned him aside from the object of his pursuit: with him faith and justice were but terms invented to dupe the ignorant or unsuspecting; and the most favourite art with which he was acquainted was that of deceiving all mankind.

Deprived of the advantages of early education, his study was the human heart; and with the intricacies of that complicated labyrinth he was well acquainted: the native vigour of his genius readily supplied expedients for the suggestions of his ambition, and his moral courage always rose in proportion to the exigencies that required it. He had a quick perception of circumstances, and very rarely allowed the opportunities of action to escape him: he possessed decision, and that decision was followed by the most indefatigable perseverance: he felt his ground before he commenced operations, but never neglected to go where fortune seemed to point: he was gifted with the talent of discovering among his followers the fittest instruments to be employed, and the most faithful guardians to be entrusted; nor did he allow the etiquette of oriental dignity to prevent his communication with society, and intercept the knowledge thence to be acquired. He had dexterity enough to dazzle the multitude, and strength of mind to discard many national prejudices which might have

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opposed his advancement. He attached his troops to his interest not more by a ready participation in their hardships, difficulties, and dangers, than by the easy familiarity with which he engaged their confidence, and by the ability with which he associated their military enthusiasm with his success, and identified their glory with his own. He was a great master of political intrigue, and so versed in the arts of simulation and dissimulation, that he not only deceived his own government, but every other which attempted to use him to its advantage: each in turn discovered its plans betrayed and itself deserted, as soon as a more powerful ally, or a more beneficial cause attracted his regards. "Divide and conquer," was his favourite motto: he had no remorse in setting father against son and son against father, brother against brother, and friend against friend: in every town or district which attracted his cupidity, dissensions were studiously promoted, jealousy and distrust increased, and intestine wars excited to disunite the inhabitants and desolate the country: he then procured for himself an invitation as an ally or arbitrator, when he contrived to eject both the innocent and the guilty, and to remain master of the contested territory. His perfidy was more than Punic: he would make a treaty and violate it in the same hour: he would allure his adversaries into his power by the kindest words and fairest promises, and then destroy them without compunction. His desire of vengeance was deeply seated, knew no limits, and increased by delay; neither did he possess that magnanimity of soul which requites valour and generosity in a foe. In discourse he was equally skilful at discovering the sentiments of others, and veiling his own amidst impenetrable obscurity. As his actions seldom corresponded with his promises, so his looks rarely indicated his thoughts: he could throw into

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his manners and countenance an appearance of frank honesty, and an affectation of gentleness, whilst rage and fury festered in his heart: he seemed most gay when he was inwardly torn by chagrin, and most courteous when he meditated the darkest deeds. Yet he was not so wantonly savage as Djezzar Pasha, nor did he require to be lulled to rest with the cries of innocent and agonized victims; but if his own safety or even his interest was endangered or threatened, no principles of religion, no ties of friendship, no dues of gratitude, restrained him in his sanguinary career.

As Ali gazed at power with an eagle's eye, so he clung to wealth with the appetite of a vulture. His avarice was so excessive that one might almost think his desire of dominion to have proceeded from the wish of gratifying this insatiable cupidity. In procuring wealth he had recourse not only to a legal revenue, but to the meanest artifices and the most shameful extortion. He had not political knowledge enough to see that the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, with equitable laws and financial arrangements, would, by an increase of capital and extension of credit, have augmented his revenue and supported his government; but he preferred to fill his treasury by forced avanias and grievous exactions, annihilating industry and stifling all the bounties of nature in their birth. A vast deposit was always kept unemployed and used as the exigency of the times might require; when this was satisfied, the account was balanced by additional contributions. The great repository of this stationary wealth was a lofty tower in the garden of his seraglio at Tepeleni; but he possessed also jewels of immense value, with numerous stores of furniture and utensils of all kinds, which he had pillaged not only from individuals, but from cities and towns taken by assault or received under his pro-

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tection. On one occasion he distributed many thousand pounds weight of brass kettles, pots, and such implements, to the French engineers at Ioannina, for the purposes of a cannon foundry which they had established by his orders.

To no art did he owe more of his success than to that of bribery, and his gold often penetrated into those places which were proof against his arms: his inordinate avarice, instead of repressing, rather promoted this system, for he scarcely ever failed to recover the bribes sooner or later with interest, while the life or liberty of the traitor was sacrificed to his skilful hypocrisy: yet by the power of assuming the most winning manners and clothing his stern countenance in complacent smiles, he contrived to draw fresh victims into his fatal snares, directed their villany to his own advantage, and persuading each deluded votary that his fortune would be more prosperous than that of others, overwhelmed at last both adversaries and adherents in a common ruin. He once gave a man a bouyourdee to kill another who was obnoxious to him: the bloody deed was perpetrated, but the assassin found in the pocket of his victim a similar bouyourdee for his own destruction. He carried it to the vizir, and expressed some signs of astonishment; when Ali, laughing, replied, "Hey, murrie, if I had not given him this, he would never have put himself in your way, and you would have had no chance of effecting your purpose." In fact, the tyrant wished to get rid of both or either of them.

Let us now contemplate the portrait in a light which may perhaps show some of its features in a more agreeable point of view. Though we cannot give our unqualified admiration to any man, however brilliant may have been his career, whose actions were directed solely by self-interest and discoloured by the most glaring vices; and though it is easy for a despotic tyrant to benefit one part

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of the community by oppressing another, or to excite the admiration of future generations, by adding to the miseries of the present race, still we ought to estimate the character of a man with a reference to the habits of his country, the system of his education, and the principles of his religion; keeping in view also the example which others, placed in similar situations, exhibit for his imitation.

Bearing in mind these considerations, I should say that the people of Albania were generally happier under the sway of Ali, than before the consolidation of his power, or than the rayahs are in other parts of the Turkish empire. In one case the contiguity of many small, fierce, independent tribes, engendered constant and implacable discord: if blood was shed even by accident, uncontrolled vengeance, swallowed up all other passions, perpetuated quarrels and murders from generation to generation, and rendered society a scene of terror and suspicion.. So lawless were the natives of these wild mountains that every defile and rock was rife with muskets aimed against the unwary traveller or the unprotected merchant; if he escaped with life, his property was plundered and his person sold into slavery: to such an extent did brigandage prevail that agriculture was neglected, commerce languished, the very arts of civilization began to disappear, and the whole land to present one unvaried scene of poverty and wretchedness. In the other case, I mean that which regards the general state of the Ottoman empire, it is sufficient to allude only to that horrible theocratic principle which makes power depend solely upon faith, and converts every Mahometan zealot into a remorseless tyrant. On the contrary, in Albania, though all were subject to one mighty and ferocious despot, no petty tyrants were permitted to exist; and to what a small distance does the

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effect of tyranny, confined to one man, extend, when compared with that lengthened chain of despotism which binds every province under the Sultan's sway! By Ali protection was given equally to the Turk, the Greek, and the Albanian, against the aggressions of each other: the dreadful system of revenge for blood was exterminated: religious toleration was freely granted; and the regularity of monarchical power succeeded in some measure to the factions of aristocracies and republics: there existed a security in his dominions which we should seek in vain where the baneful influence of the Crescent elsewhere extends: a police was organized, robbers were extirpated, roads and canals were made or repaired, rivers were rendered navigable; in short, the merchant could traverse the Albanian districts with safety, and the traveller with convenience; so that agriculture in spite of all obstacles improved, and commerce increased.

With regard to Ali's domestic habits, his attention to business, and the distribution of his time, were among the most extraordinary. So jealous was he of power, that he rarely called upon the services of his ministers, but transacted all affairs himself. He rose very early, and took a cup of coffee with his pipe: he then gave audience to his various officers, received petitions and decided causes, pronounced judgment, settled the concerns of his army, navy, and revenue, till noon; he then dined upon frugal fare, a few plain dishes, and a moderate portion of wine. After dinner he slept for an hour or two, and then smoked his houka, whilst he was engaged in similar occupations till six or seven o'clock at night, or even much later: he afterwards took his supper and retired to his harem. In the expeditions which he frequently made through various parts of his dominions, he would sometimes partake of the frugal fare of a cottager, and sleep

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beneath his humble roof. No one knew beforehand where he intended to transact the business of the day: sometimes he fixed upon the serai of Litaritza, sometimes that of the Castron, and often he retired to the gardens of the Kiosk, or to some one of the numerous tenements which he possessed both within and without the city: wherever he might be, a large quantity of Albanian troops were generally seen scattered about, in their white capotes, waiting for his exit. This extraordinary attention to business was productive of great inconvenience to his subjects, for in spite of all his quickness in decision, and the impossibility of appeal, a vast accumulation necessarily took place, especially during his frequent absence from the capital.

He was not at all strict, and was thought by no means sincere, in the article of religion. He visited a mosque but once in the year, at the festival of the Ramazan, when he went in grand procession. His mind, strong as were its natural faculties, being untutored in philosophy or science, and unaided by religious truths, clung to the marvellous and bent beneath the power of superstition: hence he was greatly alarmed by thunder and earthquakes, at which times probably remorse found an opportunity of applying her vindictive lash.

Hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent.

He believed in charms, and thought that chemical combinations of matter might be discovered, which would cure all diseases, and prolong life to an indefinite extent; and this, as has been already observed, made him often the dupe of crafty and designing men.

Though strongly addicted to sensual lusts, and proud of the success which formerly attended his amours, he pretended to take great concern in the morals of his people, and perhaps no town existed where public prostitution

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was so severely punished as at Ioannina. In his exterior deportment he discovered little of that ostentation which often sits so awkwardly upon persons who have risen to very exalted stations. His firmness of mind and command over himself is well illustrated by the following anecdote. In the year 1813, as he was inspecting some repairs in the serai of the Castron, a large block of stone fell from a scaffold upon his shoulder, and laid him prostrate on the ground. Every one present thought he was killed, and a general alarm was spread: but Ali, though seriously hurt, ordered a horse to be equipped instantly, on which he mounted and rode round the city, with a single Albanian attendant, without discovering the least mark of pain, though he had received a wound which confined him several weeks to his bed. After his recovery he told Mons. Pouqueville that he acted thus to assure his people of his safety, and to deprive his enemies of the pleasure of thinking he was likely to die. The consul replied, that every man had his enemies, but he could not think those of his highness went so far as to desire his death. "What?" said Ali, "there is not a minute of the day in which they do not offer up prayers to heaven for my destruction: how can it be otherwise? for forty years I have been doing every thing bad to every body: in this period I have caused 30,000 persons to be hung and put to death in various ways; and they know that if I live longer I shall do more: would you have them not hate me then? their hatred however will not affect my health,"—and upon this he burst into his usual Sardonic laugh.* In his dress Ali was generally plain and simple, although some particular parts of it displayed the magnificence of a sovereign: but he was very indignant

* I had this anecdote, not from Mr. Pouqueville, but from another person who was present at the conference.

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if any of his subjects or officers appeared before him in ostentatious apparel. In person he was about the middle size, but his body being long in proportion to his legs, he appeared to greatest advantage on horseback, or when seated on his divan. He was very active in his youth, but had become unwieldy, by reason of his corpulency, several years before our arrival in Ioannina; and I understand, that after our departure, his increased bulk tended greatly to sour his temper, and urge him on to many acts of wanton cruelty, which stained his character with a deeper dye than it had before acquired.

Though Ali was more than eighty years of age, and had for many years past been the prey of a mortal disease, his natural dissolution did not seem near, when the reins of power dropped from that iron hand which had long held them with so firm a grasp. Of his three sons, who would probably have been competitors for his throne, Mouchtar, the eldest, had not one virtue to recommend him but his martial courage; nor had he made any progress during his residence in Albania to secure the affections of any class among his father's subjects, except perhaps a portion of the Albanian soldiery. Brutal ferocity, degrading sensuality, and monstrous perfidy, were the leading features of his character: he was considered to be forgetful of favours and a deserter of his friends, without any portion of that political talent which might have enabled him to retain dominion, if fortune had put it into his hands.

Vely Pasha was, in many points of character, different both from his father and his elder brother. He was considered the most accomplished gentleman in the Turkish dominions; and though a strong bigot to the Mahometan faith, had a decided taste for the habits, arts, and luxuries of civilised Europe. Dissipated to excess, he was generous in his prodigality, though the indulgence of his

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inordinate passions often urged him on to acts of the most rapacious injustice. He had a fine person, set off by the most engaging manners, with much natural sagacity and good sense: nor was he devoid of courage, or uninfluenced by the love of military glory. In his political career he had devoted himself constantly to the interests of his lawful sovereign, and probably there did not exist a more attached and faithful subject of the Porte. When he held the government of the Morea, he received a proposal from the inhabitants of the flourishing isles of Hydra, Spezie, and Poros, to place themselves under his protection, and pay the tribute to him instead of the Capudan Pasha. His father Ali would have gladly accepted such an offer, and fought with the Capudan Pasha for his acquisition; but Vely, in a courteous and conciliatory manner declined it, and recommended the islanders to remain peaceable and submissive to lawful authority. He aspired to the highest post in the empire, but the Porte did not think proper to indulge him in his wishes; it preferred keeping him in the vicinity of his father, since it is thought that one of the Sultan's plans was to support him in his attempt to succeed Ali, in order, by his means, to recover a province which was in some measure disjointed from the Ottoman empire. In that event Vely would have abandoned all those foreign relations which were courted by his father, and would have owned implicit allegiance to the Sultan: on this account there was a large party of Osmanli Turks who favoured his pretensions, and exulted secretly in the hope of recovering that power which they used formerly to exercise over their Christian slaves.

Salee Pasha, the vizir's youngest son, born of a Circassian slave, was about twenty-two years of age at his death. When we were introduced to him in his residence at Argyro-Castro, he appeared to be a youth of good un-

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derstanding and amiable disposition, but his character was not then developed: it is said that he possessed many of his father's good qualities and some of his vices. He had a fair complexion, with a pleasing countenance, very much resembling that of Ali in his youthful days. Those who were best acquainted with the vizir's character and sentiments, were decided in their opinion that he intended Salee for his successor, and that he always had an eye in his domestic and political arrangements to the accomplishment of this design. It is supposed that the great fortress of Argyro-Castro was built on purpose to give him that strong-hold as a residence amidst his father's faithful clan, and an opportunity of rendering himself his successor in their affections: the mode of his education, which improved his mind, and hardened his constitution, tended to qualify him for this undertaking. His food was plain, and his exercise regular: he was obliged even to carry bricks and stones, and submit to the same labour as the common workmen in the construction of the fortifications: moreover his tutors and the governor were enjoined to exact the most implicit deference to their commands. For many years all the landed property purchased by Ali was registered in the name of Salee Bey, whilst his immense stock of jewels and the contents of his treasuries were partly intended to support this son's pretensions after his own decease. With this view also he banished and put to death so many pashas and beys, and endeavoured to exterminate all those independent Albanian chiefs whose struggles to regain their power might have interfered with the interests of his heir; and had he lived much longer, the whole race would have been extinct. As these were nearly all Mahometans, the indignation of the Turks against Ali was far greater than that of any other class among his

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subjects; and they would have gladly joined any party to throw off his yoke.

The gradual and natural decay of Ali's powers seemed at one time to be the only remedy which the Porte could contemplate for those evils to which its unguarded policy gave rise: this decay was for some time before his death perceptible, and though the faculties of his mind were in full vigour, his corporeal strength was daily yielding before the attacks of an incurable disease.

Such was the state of the vizir, his sons, his subjects, and his government: probably he found that the elevated station to which his talents, aided by his crimes, had raised him, was unable to secure for him so much happiness as falls to the lot of a humble and contented peasant upon his wild mountains; for if injustice is ever visited with punishment, or vices made their own ministers of vengeance in this world, it is when the infirmities of age creep slowly on a tyrant, when activity and bustle are no longer suited to his strength, and his habitual restlessness cannot be appeased; when a sense of approaching death excites a certain indescribable fear of retribution; and conscience holds a mirror to his view wherein every action is reflected that was instigated by the selfish and malevolent passions. I shall now proceed to detail a few circumstances respecting persons more immediately connected with the old vizir, and to add a slight sketch of that eventful revolution in which, at its commencement, he bore so important a part. This possibly may be expected from one who has traversed the scenes of action, known many of the actors concerned, felt the deepest interest in its success, and written in its cause.

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CHAPTER X.

THE treasures of Ali, when they arrived at the Porte, fell so short of expectation, that this circumstance served afterwards as a pretext to take off his conqueror, whose head was soon sent to ornament that impartial Golgotha the Seraglio gate. In fact a large portion of them had been disposed of by the old vizir himself, as a resource in case of defeat or retirement to a foreign land; part also had been transmitted to the insurgent Greeks; part distributed among his troops; and some without doubt secreted at his death both by adherents and by captors. The pashalic of Ioannina and Arta was conferred, as the reward of treachery, upon Omer Bey Vrioni. Vasilikee, Ali's favourite wife, was placed in charge of the Greek patriarch, who was made responsible for her safe keeping: at his residences he was seen by Dr. Walsh, who describes her as a fine and elegant woman, about thirty-five years of age. "She never goes from her apartment," says that traveller, "except across the court, to the patriarchal church, which she constantly attends; and then she is close veiled. She is left in such a state of destitution, that a subscription was proposed for her support: her brother is at the same time confined in the prison of the Bos-

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tangee Bashee, and in a still greater state of destitution: nor is this mentioned as a proof of her innocence; for the withholding a reward in Turkey, on such occasions, is no proof that it had *not been promised and earned;* but her character was, on all known occasions, just and amiable: she was a faithful companion to Ali, notwithstanding the disparity of their years, and had a powerful influence over him, which she always exerted for the service and benefit of other people." * Young Ismael Bey, the second son of Vely Pacha, who accompanied Vasilikee to Constantinople, a youth of great promise and of a most amiable disposition, was by strenuous exertions rescued from the Sultan's indignation, and is now an officer in his guards. Nor did a long time elapse before Ali's inveterate foe Haleb Effendi shared his fate. The Janissaries had taken mortal offence at the influence which he exercised over the Sultan, inasmuch as he was known to be a favourer of innovations: Mahmoud therefore, to please them, before the period arrived which had been fixed on for their extermination, exiled this powerful favourite to Konia on the Asiatic side of the channel, with the promise of a speedy recall, and a bouyourdee given under his own hand to guarantee his safety. On his journey however he was overtaken by a chaoush, who passed him on the road, entered a city named Bolà-Vashi before him, and apprized the vaivode of the purport of his mission. Haleb was received by the governor with distinguished respect, and having been sumptuously entertained at dinner, was reclining with his host upon the sofa, and smoking his pipe, when the chaoush entered the apartment, made a profound reverence to the once-dreaded favourite, and courteously presented the firman which required his head. Haleb demurred to this demand, and

* Narrative, &c. p. 52.

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quietly putting his hand into the fold of his vest, produced with a smiling countenance the Sultan's bouyourdee. This the messenger took, and after having reverently touched it with his forehead, placed it in the vaivode's hands, asking his opinion respecting the two documents. Upon a careful comparison of dates, Haleb's was found to precede the other by one day; whereupon judgment was immediately given in favour of the chaoush. Haleb, however, could not be convinced of his master's extreme duplicity, and proposed with some degree of hauteur to send back the chaoush with a letter to the Sultan; but that officer had too great a regard for his own neck to take charge of such a document: accordingly he produced his bowstring; then with the vaivode's help he threw Haleb on his back upon the divan, and as the song says, "strangled him while he prated." His head being afterwards severed from the body, was carried back to Constantinople, and exposed upon the same pillar and in the same dish wherein but a short time before that of Ali Pasha had been exhibited. His treasures, which were confiscated to the state, amounted to near 300,000*l.* sterling; having been extorted from the custody of a Jew banker by the application of excessive tortures.

It is time however to return to the affairs of the Greek insurgents, whose cause suffered considerably from the death of him, who, during the greatest part of his life, had been the bitterest foe of liberty. Ali's obstinate resistance had drawn away the flower of the Turkish army from the southern provinces; but his death enabled the fierce and resolute Chourschid Pasha to concentrate his forces and march upon the Morea, where dissensions had already commenced among the Capitani and the members of government, to the great detriment of public affairs.

The plan of the Turkish campaign in the beginning of 1822

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was skilfully devised. The Albanian army under Chourschid Pasha was to descend through Western Greece, and enter the Morea by Patras: an equal one was to move through Eastern Greece and enter the same province by way of Corinth; when both, having been supplied at those points with provisions and ammunition from attendant squadrons, might move directly upon Tripolizza. Corinth however fell into the hands of the Greeks before these movements took place; and a considerable squadron of the Turkish navy was met and scattered by the Greek fleet on the western coast of the Morea. To avert, if possible, the danger that was most imminent on the side of Western Greece, Mavrocordato, seconded by the heroic Marco Botzari, headed an expedition to prevent the junction and descent of the Turkish troops in that quarter: their efforts however were unsuccessful, and the patriotic army was obliged to retreat upon Missolonghi. In this unfortunate expedition a considerable number of European volunteers under General Normann fell nobly in front of the battle, and the general himself was severely wounded. By this retreat of the Greek forces, the brave Suliots were left to struggle alone with their exasperated foes. After having resisted all attacks with courage and success, until they were left destitute of allies, and pressed severely for want of provisions, they proposed to evacuate their mountain holds by capitulation: the Turks, glad at any rate to be set free from such daring and determined foes, accepted their proposals; and the Suliots, under the mediation and protection of the English, marched down with the honours of war, and embarked at Porto Phanari for the Ionian Isles.

On the 21st of June the Acropolis of Athens after a closely-pressed siege surrendered to the Greeks; and in the same month Napoli di Romania, the most important fortress of the Morea, was reduced to accept terms of capitu-

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lation, which were to take place after forty days, allowed for the gradual removal of the garrison and others, with the humane design of preventing massacre and plunder. During this period however the great Eastern army, consisting of thirty thousand men under Dram-Ali Pasha, was put in motion from Thessaly; while the dissensions of the Greeks prevented them from offering any effectual resistance to such a torrent.

It is said that Odysseus, who commanded the defiles of Thermopylæ, and has been sometimes accused of disaffection to the cause of his country, being aware of these dissensions, adopted the very mode of allaying them with which Themistocles threatened the Peloponnesians at the Persian invasion. He retired, after a slight skirmish, from his commanding situation, and allowed the barbarians free ingress into the provinces of Phocis and Bœotia, which they marked with ravages unheard of before, even in Turkish warfare; they then entered the Morea, retook the Acrocorinthus, raised the siege of Napoli, and obliged the refractory Greeks to unite for the preservation of their common liberty. The members of the government embarked on board some Hydriot vessels, and a military commission with plenary powers was arranged under Ypsilanti, Colocotroni, and Mavromicheli: the peasantry rose *en masse*, the very crops were destroyed to prevent the enemy from gaining supplies; he was harassed by attacks night and day: a dysentery carried off immense numbers of his troops; and in his retreat he lost more than half the remainder in the defiles of Mount Tretum, where Niketas for his valour obtained the singular title of *Turcophagus*, or the "Turk-eater." Dram-Ali again endeavoured to penetrate the defiles and re-enter the Morea, but was again met by the redoubtable Niketas, and defeated with immense slaughter. Soon after these

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events, Chourschid Pasha, one of the most brave and experienced commanders in the Turkish empire, was recalled, and put to death at Larissa, on the pretext of having secreted for his own use a part of Ali Pasha's treasures. At the end of this year the spirits of the Greeks were raised by unusual successes: in a brilliant action off Tenedos, they blew up the Turkish admiral in a ship of the largest class, and drove the rest of his fleet, in a crippled state, for refuge behind the forts of the Dardanelles; it afterwards attempted twice to put to sea, and carry succours to the besieged fortresses, but was each time driven back with disgrace.

The 30th of November was signalized by the surrender of Napoli di Romania, which had been invested ever since the commencement of the insurrection, and which, both for its advantageous site and its impregnable situation, is well calculated to be the capital of Independent Greece. At this place the provisional government was immediately installed, and this secured to the Greeks possession of Peloponnesus, although the Castles of Coron, Modon, and Patras, still remained unreduced. Winter did not put a stop to the struggles of the combatants: on the 25th of December, a well-appointed army of twelve thousand Mussulmen, from Albania, attacked the city of Missolonghi in Acarnania, and had begun to ascend the ramparts with scaling ladders, when they were bravely repulsed by the garrison and the citizens, and driven to their tents with the loss of five hundred killed, and a proportionate number wounded. In the night of the 31st, they precipitately broke up their camp and endeavoured to retreat, leaving behind them all their baggage, artillery, and tents. Intercepted, however, in their flight by the river Achelous, which happened to be much swollen by rain, they attempted to save themselves by dispersing in small parties;

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but were for the most part killed or taken prisoners by the victorious Greeks. Thus freedom seemed to be restored to all the northern provinces of Grecia Propria; the standard of the cross waved over the ruins of the Parthenon; and Peloponnesus saw not a Mahometan within its boundaries, except those besieged in the fortresses above-mentioned.

Great preparations were made, during the winter, by the national congress at Napoli di Romania, for the ensuing campaign. A fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels was well manned and equipped, while the army was greatly augmented, and placed under the most able officers. Colocotroni took the principal command in Peloponnesus, which, according to a new division made by the provisional government, was called Southern Greece. Ulysses was appointed chief in Eastern Greece, which extended from Athens to Zeitun; and Marco Botzari in the western division, which comprehended Etolia and Acarnania. The principal seat of war became now transferred to the northern parts of Thessaly and Macedonia; whither a large armament was dispatched in March, under the command of Mavrocordato, accompanied by Odysseus and his corps: the Greek fleet also disembarked a considerable body of troops at Cassandra in Macedonia. The plan of operations concerted by the Ottoman commanders was similar to that of the preceding year; to descend upon the southern provinces in two great divisions. That which marched on the eastern side of Greece from Larissa, after having entered the provinces of Phocis and Bœotia, burning and ravaging all the country round Parnassus and Livadia, was checked and severely handled by the guerilla forces under Odysseus; whilst another portion having committed similar devastations in the island of Eubœa, was compelled by the same chieftain, with the assistance of a Greek squadron, to take refuge behind the walls of

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Carystos. In Western Greece the conduct of the war was entrusted by the Porte to a brave and skilful general, Mustafà Pasha of Scutari, with Joussouf Pasha of Serres for his second in command. But the summer having nearly passed away without a junction of these chiefs being effected, and Omer Pasha having withdrawn his Albanian forces into Œtolia, owing to a jealousy of Joussouf, this latter was obliged to retire upon Patras. In the mean time Mustafà Pasha encamped with about fourteen thousand troops upon the plain of Karpenisi, where the Greeks opposed to him did not exceed two thousand men. Then occurred that celebrated assault, made by night upon the Turkish camp, in which the spirit of patriotism fully compensated for the deficiency of numerical strength. It was headed by the gallant Marco Botzari, deservedly called the Achilles of modern Greece, who, surrounded by three hundred faithful Suliots, had penetrated up to the very tent of the Pasha, and was giving orders for his capture when he received a shot in his loins, but still continued to animate his troops until he fell by another ball, and thus occasioned the decisive victory of the Greeks to be dearly purchased.

Notwithstanding this check, Mustafà Pasha, who had escaped in the confusion, was able by the superiority of numbers to overcome all opposition, and to effect a junction with Omer Pasha; after which, assisted by a squadron in the Gulf of Corinth, they invested Missolonghi; but having bombarded it for near a month without any effect, and being attacked by an epidemic disorder, they retreated towards Albania. Corinth soon afterwards surrendered to the Greek forces, and some success attended the insurgents in the islands of Crete and Samos. If at this time there had been fewer dissensions among the Greek chiefs, and more union between the deliberative

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and executive parts of their government, affairs might probably have been brought to a happy conclusion, unaccompanied by those dreadful calamities which subsequently fell upon the unfortunate people.

Still the fourth year of the war commenced under circumstances of an auspicious nature. Though torn by internal dissentions, the Greeks had repulsed the tyrant's forces and defied the whole force of the Ottoman empire, though turned upon one of its smallest provinces: among their enemies also there was an almost equal want of combination, confidence, discipline, and subordination; whilst the very continuance of the struggle showed the spirit of the Greek people, and gave a character to their cause very unlike that which had distinguished the Neapolitan revolution. Other nations appeared now to take a greater interest in the cause of Greece, sending their sons to gain renown upon scenes of ancient glory. In this year foreign enthusiasm seems to have attained her highest pitch; while foreign speculation also attended in her train; a crafty elf, which, careless either of the wrongs and disasters or the successes and prosperity of a state, seeks only her own remuneration, and laughs at the simplicity of those who ascribe her efforts to any better or more noble spirit. It would be tedious to dwell upon the loans and contracts, the frauds of agents, contractors, and stockholders, the philanthropic missions and misdirected projects of all kinds, which were at this period sedulously concocted for the Greek cause; but we must not omit to pay a passing tribute to the memory of one Philhellene, who, whatever may have been his failings and his faults, expiated many of them by the sacrifice of his life in the cause of freedom. Having taken great pains beforehand to obtain clear views and accurate information respecting the state of the country, Lord Byron attached

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himself to the party of Mavrocordato, of all the Greek chiefs the one most sincerely attached to English policy: having joined that leader in Missolonghi, he engaged for his own service a corps of Suliots and other Albanian palikars, with whom he was preparing for an expedition against Lepanto, when he was attacked by the fever which in a few days terminated his existence.

Few actions of any great importance occurred this year, if we except some severe losses occasioned to the Turkish fleet by the Admiral Miaulis and the brave Canaris, in revenge for the horrid devastation committed by the Ottomans on the unfortunate island of Psara. The combined squadrons also of the Capudan Pasha and Ibrahim Bey of Alexandria were, after several attacks, dispersed with great losses by the admirals Miaulis and Sakturi. The year was however signalized by the crisis to which the factions of those who aspired to power were carried. After a long course of intrigue and political warfare between the executive government under Mavrocordato, and the military chieftains under Colocotroni, recourse was had to arms; when these latter being overpowered and the leaders imprisoned, the authority of the regular government was confirmed, and such a degree of tranquillity restored to the country, as well as confidence to the cause of liberty, that a new loan of two millions sterling nominally was negociated in England, and the fifth year of the war (1825) began auspiciously for the Greeks. Their unaided successes however did not long continue. Early in the spring a part of the Egyptian army, after having completely subdued the insurrection in Candia, was landed at Modon, and the fleet returned to Alexandria for the remainder of the troops. When these arrived, Ibrahim invested the strong place of Navarino, the key of the western coast of Morea; and being aided by European tactics, introduced into his army

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by the many French and Italian officers who bore command in it, he took the place by capitulation, and the little island of Sphacteria by storm, where the Count Santa Rosa fell, and Mavrocordato himself narrowly escaped by flight. These and other disasters raised a cry among the Moreotes for the return of Colocotroni and his party, when an amnesty was proclaimed, and that chieftain being brought by a deputation from Hydra to Napoli, was there reinvested with his command, and swore to bury all party hatred and dissension in exertions for his country. Ibrahim now advanced upon Tripolizza, which was fired and evacuated at his approach; after which he proceeded to the attack of Napoli di Romania, but met with a severe check at the mills near Lerna, by a small corps under Demetrius Ypsilanti, who left the retirement into which he had voluntarily withdrawn himself, at the new dangers which threatened his country. Napoli, crowded as it was with exiles from all parts of the Morea, and afflicted by contagious disorders and famine, presented the most appalling scenes of distress; but it was preserved from conquest by its situation, which is impregnable, if the power that possesses it has also command of the gulf. The flames of Argos announced the retreat of Ibrahim, which was marked at every step with the most horrible devastations. In the mean time the command of the Turkish forces in the north of Greece had been committed to Kiutachi Pasha, an experienced and energetic commander, who was created Roumelie Vasilee, and appointed to the pashalic of Ioannina on the removal of Omer Vrioni to that of Saloniki. Kiutachi having collected a formidable army of fourteen thousand men, forced his way to Missolonghi, which he invested according to the rules of European tactics under the direction of Frank officers.

In the early part of this year the celebrated Odysseus,

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captain-general of Eastern Greece, had from hatred of Mavrocordato retreated to a vast and inaccessible cave on Mount Parnassus, and was discovered to be in correspondence with the enemies of his country. Having been declared a traitor, his old companion Gourras, who commanded at Athens, was sent against him, to whom Odysseus, after his resources had been weakened by frequent desertions, surrendered himself on condition of being brought to an immediate trial, in which he anticipated a complete acquittal. He was sent to Athens, and confined in the great Venetian tower of the Acropolis, where he lay rather more than a month; when attempting to escape by a rope on the night of the 5th of June, he fell to the bottom of the citadel and was killed upon the spot. Strong suspicions attached themselves on this occasion to the members of the government, and especially to Gourras, by whom, it is said, the rope was furnished which so conveniently broke, and thus removed out of the way of his ambitious views a master and a friend whom he had before basely betrayed, and deprived of his command in Athens.

Some partial successes by sea under the admirals Miaulis, Sakturi, and Canaris, scarcely served to keep up the spirits of the patriotic Greeks, harassed as they were on the one hand by the dissensions of their chiefs, and on the other by Ibrahim, who was enabled to penetrate into every part of the Morea, though he was sometimes met and worsted in skirmishes with Colocotroni, Ypsilanti, and other captains. Enraged by these encounters, by the loss of his men through sickness, and by the protraction of the war without any evident results, he determined to change his mode of warfare, and pursue a system of extermination. Accordingly, all the towns and villages in his march were consumed by fire; the men were massacred;

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the women and children were sold for slaves; and the markets of the Levant were fully supplied by this ferocious barbarian:—nay, even the fruits and produce of the earth, corn-fields, olive-trees, vineyards, and orange-groves were destroyed, in order that famine might stalk in the monster's train, and assist him in his atrocious plans. Let us here rest a moment, to reflect on the mysterious ways of Providence. From the heaviest calamity endured by this afflicted country, sprang, as from a root, the germ of its prosperity: feelings of humanity now began to mingle themselves with reasons of policy, and statesmen to recollect that they were members of the great family of mankind. In this very year a proposal was made by the allied powers of England, France, and Russia, to the Sultan, that the war in Greece should be discontinued, upon the condition of that province being placed upon a footing similar to those of Wallachia and Moldavia: fortunately however for the interests of humanity, this arrangement was rejected by the Sublime Porte. Meantime those horrors, which were made the reason for interposition, went on to such an extent, the evils of piracy so interrupted the whole commerce of the Levant, the Greeks implored in such energetic terms the assistance of Christian powers, and so many authentic records of their intolerable miseries were published by eye witnesses of their sufferings, that public opinion throughout Europe underwent a considerable change, and the way was paved for those great events which gave repose to Greece.

In the month of September 1825 a large reinforcement of Egyptian troops was landed at Navarino; when the ferocious Ibrahim embarked ten thousand on board the transports, and dispatched them to the army of Kiutachi Pasha: he himself, with an escort of two thousand cavalry, marched along the western coast of Morea, de-

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stroying every thing in his way with fire and sword, crossed the gulph of Corinth to Lepanto, and joined Kiutachi before the walls of Missolonghi. The heroic defence of this city will hereafter furnish a bright page in Grecian history: three thousand of its defenders fell in the storming of the place, and as many more, principally women and children, were sold into slavery: after its fall Ibrahim returned into the Morea, with reduced forces indeed, but still sufficient to recommence the atrocious system of devastation which had been for a short time intermitted; while Kiutachi Pasha moved towards Athens, being considerably harassed on his march by the guerilla forces under Karaiskaki, one of the best and most patriotic generals that sprang up out of the Greek insurrection.

The city of Minerva was ably defended by the determined chieftain Gourras with a garrison of eight thousand men in the Acropolis; by Colonel Fabvier, one of the best partizan officers that joined the Greeks at the head of an army of tacticos, or forces drilled after the European method; and by Karaiskaki with three thousand palikars in the plain: Kiutachi Pasha, after an engagement of five hours, was obliged to retire from the superior bravery and skill of these troops; but having next day received large reinforcements from Eubœa under Omer Vrioni, he drove the Greeks from their positions with considerable loss, and invested the Acropolis. In the beginning of the seventh year of the war (1827), the situation of Greece appeared critical in the extreme. The preponderance of Turkish power seemed to preclude all prospect of success; whilst every effort of the insurgents was frustrated by the dissensions of their chiefs; and the schemes in which they were assisted by their allies burst like air-bubbles. The Philhellenes of London had sent out cannon with carriages of *cast-iron*, made *to sell*, which twice

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occasioned defeats to Colonel Fabvier, each of which was accompanied by the most disastrous consequences: the steam-boats, procured by the same gentry, beat themselves to pieces before they got out of the Thames: the Americans, instead of two frigates, sent them one; and the Greeks had great difficulty in procuring even that from the rapacity of interested individuals: the produce of the loans was scandalously squandered in this country, and rapaciously seized on or diverted from its proper purposes in Greece: Lord Cochrane, whose arrival had been hailed with rapturous enthusiasm by the poor Greeks, was discovered to come out more for the reparation of his own fortune than their cause, which he soon gave up, without having achieved any exploit that could add a ray of glory to his coronet: moreover the jealousy of European powers showed itself in exciting parties and fomenting those intestine disorders which might cut off all pretext for foreign interference.

In the mean time Athens had surrendered, and the brave Karaiskaki, the Epaminondas of modern Greece, had fallen in her defence. The Turks, aided by the Egyptians, had the command by sea; the Sultan had constituted Ibrahim pasha of the Morea, given him the sole command by sea and land, and encouraged him in his project of exterminating the population, and repeopling it with Egyptian Arabs; the towns and villages of northern Greece began to make their submission to the Porte, and foreign officers to return in disgust and despair to their own countries; the resources of the islanders were quite gone; and the Moreotes kept possession of no other strong-holds but the Mainote mountains, Corinth, and Napoli di Romania; in the citadel of which important place several parties were ready to turn the batteries against each other, and had actually cannonaded the town.

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Yet out of this dark and fearful gloom the morning-star of Grecian liberty arose. John Count Capo d'Istrias, ex-minister of the Russian empire, a Greek by birth, a man of active energy, varied talents, and undoubted patriotism, was appointed chief of the executive government, and dissensions were hushed in expectation of his arrival; a liberal and enlightened statesman presided over the councils of Great Britain; his most Christian Majesty began to feel for the intolerable miseries of a Christian people; and Russia, for her own advantage, joined the triple confederacy, which the cold-blooded Prussian and the rancorous Austrian were impotent to dissolve. The treaty of pacification, signed by the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Russia, July 6, 1827, for the purpose of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, was indignantly rejected by the Porte. Ibrahim Pasha having received an immense accession of blood-hounds from Egypt, began to perpetrate all those atrocities, in which a fiend, to whom the powers of hell itself have been delegated, may be supposed to delight, when the glorious battle of Navarino took place on the 20th of October, and decided the fate of Greece: this victory however was decidedly tarnished by liberty being granted to Ibrahim Pasha of sailing with his shattered fleet for Alexandria, and carrying with him an immense multitude of Christian slaves to reimburse himself for the loss of his ships.

In January 1828 Count Capo d'Istrias landed on the shores of Greece, with a considerable loan advanced by France and Russia; when, having called around him the ablest and most patriotic men of all parties, he placed the affairs of government upon a better and a firmer footing. In August a French expedition under General Maison sailed from Toulon to effect the evacuation of Peloponnesus by the Egyptians, much to the credit

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of France, who by this prompt and humane act redeemed her past indifference to the fate of Greece. With respect to England, it was quite curious to see how she trembled and quaked at the effect of her own cannon, starting back like the beautiful figure of her poet, " e'en at the sound herself had made:" her protests, her commissions of inquiry, her instructions to ambassadors, her compliments to the Sublime Porte, and her vacillating policy, were worthy of that weak disjointed ministry which succeeded to the administration of the illustrious Canning: still in spite of herself she was carried forwards, struggling and plunging in vain, like the wild elephant between two tame ones; when a steadier hand took the reins of government, and conducted her through all difficulties with credit to herself, and advantage to the best interests of humanity.

In the mean time another important series of events commenced, in the war which broke out between Russia and the Porte in April 1828. This placed the crown of the Cæsars within the grasp of the Czar; but the grandson of Catherine had not resolution enough to place it on his brows. He conquered Turkey, but he sold it for *a sum of money*, to be wrung out of the miserable rayahs; and rivers of blood are destined again to flow, and perhaps to flow in vain. Would Catherine have done so? His victories, however, secured the recognition of Grecian independence by the Sultan, and will probably secure to the Greek people an excellent sovereign in the person of Prince Leopold. There does not seem to exist a person more eminently qualified for this important station, whether we consider his personal qualifications, or the support of foreign nations, which will attach itself to him, and which is so necessary to the welfare of a despoiled and depopulated country: neither

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is it likely that any other candidate could be found more generally agreeable to the great mass of the people; though the higher ranks and the clergy would probably prefer the Count Capo d'Istrias: indeed so eminent have been the services of this individual, that it is to be hoped, whoever may be the sovereign of Greece, his merits will not be overlooked. With respect to the people themselves, bright prospects seem to open: their greatest faults were the faults of slaves, trodden to the earth under the feet of bigoted and cruel masters; the whole body politic has been cast and kept down by the most barbarous system of oppression that ever existed: the incubus being removed, it will rise again erect: indeed, even under Mahometan despotism, wherever a single limb was liberated, it moved vigorously, and showed that the circulation was impeded, not destroyed; witness the flourishing condition of Hydra, Spezia, Poros, and Psara, before the war of independence: witness the numerous schools which the Greeks founded wherever they could profit by the indolence of their masters; witness the funds which they instituted in foreign capitals for the advancement of civilisation; witness the free spirit of their mountaineers, and the proud defiance which they hurled at the Mahometan oppressor. Having now rights worthy of defence and privileges worthy of enjoyment, the spirit of the ancients is likely again to beam forth in the moderns, purged as they have been by the fiercest fires of war, warned by previous errors, and animated by as bright examples as any contest for liberty ever yet produced. Europe too will be a gainer: instead of the sluggish apathetic Turks, who have for so many ages remained stationary upon the current of civilisation, detained by the very anchors of their faith, the prescriptions of the koran, and the im-

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mutability of oriental customs, a member will be restored to the great Christian confederacy: the atrocities of Barbary pirates will be checked by a Greek marine, and the sources cut off from which they recruit their strength; a new impulse will be given to the inventions of modern ingenuity: that country, which was the nurse of literature and science, will be opened to the full investigation of literary curiosity; fanaticism will be replaced by toleration, and the sword of violence by the sceptre of justice; a new population will be created, capable of enjoying the bounty of Divine Providence, and an insurmountable barrier will be erected against the encroachments of the northern power: finally, his most sacred rights will be restored to Man, and the altars of the Living God purified from profanation.

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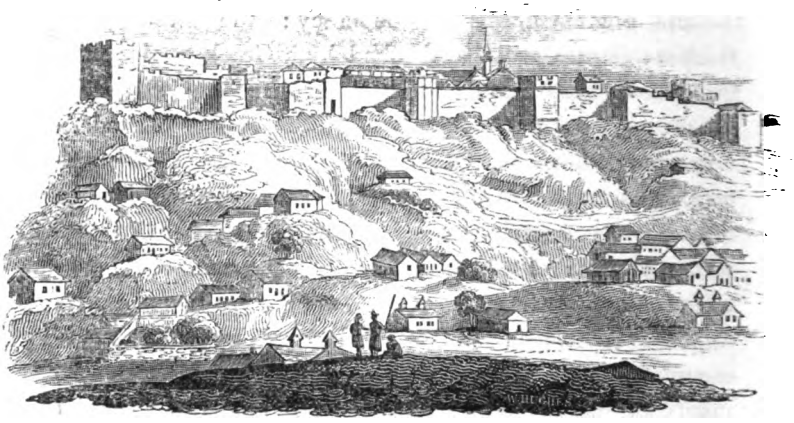

Fortress of Ali Pasha at Argyro-Castro.

CHAPTER XI.

MARCH 5th.—This day we dined with Mons. Pouqueville, and learned the particulars of Ali's attack of Ajà, and his defeat by the valiant Parghiotes: nor is it very consoling now to reflect upon the sentiments of the French consul upon this subject. He seemed fully aware that Parga would eventually change French for British protection; but he exulted in the prospect of its fate, and paid those compliments to our national faith, which are particularly gratifying as the acknowledgment of a generous enemy. I recollect the almost enthusiastic fondness that he expressed for the character of the Parghiotes, with which his frequent residence among them had made him well acquainted; a character which we invariably found acknowledged by all who had similar opportunities of observing it, and which our own sojourn upon their rock tended to confirm. And for *whom* did British

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authorities think proper to expatriate this interesting people, and to rivet the fetters of Greece!

Next day we called upon Mouchtar Pasha, who confirmed the intelligence of the capture of Ajà, though he studiously concealed the defeat before Parga. The mention of these events turned the conversation to his own exploits at the attack of Prevesa, where he headed the charge of Albanian cavalry, and drove in the outposts. Like the generality of Arnaout warriors he boasted much of his own valour, and expressed a contemptuous opinion of the French, which they little deserved: had they possessed a single troop of cavalry, probably Mouchtar would not have lived to tell the tale; nor would Prevesa have fallen so easy a prey, had the French troops been properly supported. As we sat smoking our pipes in social converse, a secretary came to inform the pasha that a desperate leader of banditti, who had long infested the forests of Acarnania, had voluntarily surrendered himself, and desired to make the adoration (προσκυνήσις) upon condition of receiving pardon and employment. In this ceremony the criminal prostrates himself before the chief and kisses the hem of his garment, after which his life is safe, whatever may have been the crimes he has committed. Mouchtar admitted the man to the expiatory rite, but in so doing he incurred the displeasure of his father, whose vengeance against this individual was implacable. To give up the pleasure of revenge was not compatible with Ali's nature; whilst, on the other hand, to violate the customs of his country and destroy all confidence between himself and his old companions the kleftes, was thought adverse to good policy: in this dilemna therefore he released the man, and gave him safe conduct to the haunts of his associates, determining to wait patiently

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until chance or a diligent police should again bring the culprit into his grasp.

Having left Mouchtar, and paid a visit to young Mehmet Pasha, we returned home to be witnesses of a catastrophe which had nearly laid all Ioannina in ashes. On this day we had invited a party of natives to dinner, and Antonietti, that he might give satisfaction to our guests by his skill in cookery, had lighted a fire to which the vizir's kitchen itself could scarcely have afforded a parallel: but the houses in this country are not built to stand fire; indeed, so seldom is a Grecian hearth illuminated by a blaze, that the architect takes no precaution to secure the beam ends of the upper story which may jut into the chimney. Such was the case in the present instance; a large dry beam coming into contact with Antonietti's flame, took fire, and the smoke soon ascended through the roof: luckily this was formed of pantiles instead of thatch, or the next messenger dispatched to the vizir might have told him 'half his Troy was burnt:' for as more than one half the house, in all instances, is constructed of wood, whilst the modern invention of a water-engine has not yet found its way to these countries, and moreover, as a high wind well calculated to spread a conflagration was then blowing, Antonietti narrowly escaped gaining a niche in the Temple of Fame by the side of Erostratus. On our arrival we found every body and every thing in confusion; but Signore Nicolo, alarmed not less for his head than for his house, mounted the roof with uncommon agility, and acted the part of fireman: tearing off some dozens of the tiles, and exposing the enemy to view, he cooled his courage by the application of successive buckets of water, which we handed up to him, and Ioannina was saved: but the dinner was

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spoiled; and our guests were taught to sympathise with the Horatian party in their misfortune at Beneventum:

Ubi sedulus ho-pes,
Pene arsit macros dum turdos versat in igne.

This however was not the only misfortune we experienced: the French consul, having learnt that we gave an entertainment, kindly sent some sausages to garnish a turkey: these having been saved from the wreck, were among the articles dressed for dinner, none of the party recollecting that pork was a principal ingredient in their composition: but Mustafà was too good a Mussulman to forget it; and no sooner did his olfactory nerves give him notice that this infernal viand was to compose a part of our feast, than he consigned us all over to perdition; and then with every mark of horror and disgust pictured in his countenance, packed up his goods and retreated to his little den within the castron. At the expiration of two days, when he thought the house was tolerably purified, he re-appeared; but he refused to break bread with us, until Demetrio had washed every dish and platter in his presence, and we had assured him that no more of this abomination should come under our roof. Mr. Parker indeed contrived to persuade him that he had not partaken of the sausages, and by that means gained a step over me in his affections which I was never able to recover: as for Antonietti, who cooked the trash, he looked upon him with infinitely greater abhorrence than if he had roasted a Christian, nor could he ever after hear the name of M. Pouqueville mentioned with any degree of patience. This was not the only time when we were amused by the superstitious peculiarities of poor Mustafà. One day as he was putting in order a houka for Mr. Parker, he happened to break the glass vase: for this he took not the least blame to

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himself, but ascribed all the fault to a Greek gentleman who had left the room ten minutes before, and whom he had observed to look at it with an *evil eye* (κακὸ μάτι): he said he was well aware that some mischief would befal him, and was glad it was no worse; for in going to the bath the preceding day he had broken the ribbon which fastened his amulet round his neck, and was thus left defenceless against the glances of every wicked eye that might be cast upon him. The fear of this eye-battery is equally prevalent among the Greeks, many of whom are struck with horror if a stranger praises any article of their property, or one of their children, for its beauty; they generally observe the old method of averting the evil by spitting upon the admired object, or into their own bosom: this ocular influence was so credited by the ancients, that some of their heroes attempted to turn it to account by painting a large unseemly eye upon their shields.*

On the morning after this conflagration scene we were awoke early from sleep by a violent tumult in the street, which we found to proceed from a long procession that was convoying the vizir's favorite tatar, named Delhi Yachjà Agà, out of the precincts of the town on his road to Mecca, where he was going to be made a hadjee, or "holy man." He was accompanied on this occasion by all the different trades of the city with silken banners flying, and the college of dervishes carrying axes and halberts; these were preceded by a chorus of young men singing hymns in a fine sonorous strain, relieved at intervals by a band of music: his horse, magnificently caparisoned, was led by two tatars, his ataghan and pistols being tied to the saddle, whilst a large body of the tatarian fraternity in their picturesque attire closed up the rear. When he arrived at

* See Milligen's unedited Greek vases, Pl. xxix.

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the outside of the town, near the plain of Bonila, he took an affectionate leave of his friends, and kissed each of them on the cheek; he then mounted his steed, and departed cheerfully on the road to Prevesa, where a ship was waiting in which he intended to embark for Alexandria. This man was very celebrated, and highly valued by his master for the astonishing journeys which he had performed in his service: he had the faculty of sleeping on horseback, which enabled him to make the greatest possible dispatch, since he never stopped longer than was necessary to take the refreshment of food. He was now sixty years old, and so anxious to make this grand composition for sin, and secure a passport to the Houries, that no entreaties of friends, not even those of Ali himself, could divert him from his pilgrimage.

Near the end of March, the first harbingers of spring appeared at Ioannina in flights of small hawks, extremely beautiful in appearance, of a lighter colour, but about equal in size to the common sparrow-hawk: they came in such numbers that they might be seen upon every tree and every house of the city: no doubt this bird is sent by Providence for some useful purpose like its immediate successor the stork, which is called by way of eminence, the bird of Mahomet, and held so sacred in many parts of the East, that he who kills one is subjected to the severest penalties.

Nothing can add more to the picturesque appearance of Turkish cities, than the frequent occurrence of this majestic bird, standing upon a mosque with all the solemnity of an imaun, or seated like a moralist amidst the ruins of antiquity. The veneration paid to the stork, however, proceeds not so much from its appearance as its usefulness; it is furnished by nature with that long formidable bill for the destruction of serpents and other reptiles with which the

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country abounds. I have seen some desperate struggles in the air between these implacable combatants.

Serenity being now restored to the atmosphere, and the snow partially dissolved, we became anxious to see more of the superb scenery of Albania, and to become better acquainted with its singular inhabitants. From the monasteries of Meteora, on the eastern side of Pindus, we were diverted by lamentable accounts of the ravages made in that district by the plague: but Upper Albania lay open to our researches; and its banditti being dispersed from all provinces subjected to the vizir's authority, every possible facility and acoommodation was offered to the traveller.

On the 28th of March therefore, at noon, we commenced our expedition, attended by Signore Nicolo, Antonietti, Demetrio, four suradgees, and Mustafà armed with the plenipotential powers of his bouyourdee. In our first day's journey we advanced no further than to Zitza, which is four hours north-west of Ioannina, situated upon some turfy knolls, and commanding a fine view of that mountainous region through which the Thyamis flows into the plains of Thesprotia; plains wherein it once imparted verdure and luxuriance to the groves of platani which sheltered the Amaltheum.* To their umbrageous shade the munificent Atticus retired, a voluntary exile from the calamities of his country: there he endeavoured to forget his sorrows in the exercise of generous hospitality, in philosophical studies, and in rural amusements, amidst scenery whose soft features were so congenial to his own disposition. At the entrance of the village we passed a monastery, surrounded by some fine trees upon a lovely eminence, and a small

* Cave putes Attici nostri Amaltheo, platanisque illis quidquam esse præclarius. Cic. Procem. lib. ii. de Leg.

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serai belonging to the vizir, with a granary for the produce of his chiflick: throughout the whole of our route we observed similar mementos of tyrannic power. Zitza contained about one hundred and fifty houses, with four Greek churches: it is celebrated for a very excellent and fragrant species of white wine, made from grapes which have been exposed for about three days to the sun, and which has a peculiar flavour from the absynthus employed in its preparation. We procured from the convent a copious supply of this nectar, in which Nicolo indulged his genius so freely as to bring on symptoms of an incipient fever, which, in the course of a few days, prevented our having the benefit of his company for the rest of this excursion. Next morning we resumed our journey through an undulating tract of country covered with vineyards; and at one hour from Zitza passed a beautiful cascade called the fall of Glizani: here the river Thyamis rolls over a rock about fifty feet in height and thirty in breadth, adorned on one side by a fine wooded knoll, and on the other by a picturesque water-mill: the sun was shining brilliantly, and a fine iris playing over the spray. The scenery down the valley of the Thyamis would probably afford ample gratification to the lovers of the picturesque: our route lay upwards in a more northerly direction, which brought us in about four hours to the small lake of Tzarovina, which is said to be unfathomable, and seems as if it filled a volcanic crater: its great depth gives a deep azure to the transparent water, whose gloom is increased by trees and shrubs which bathe their branches in its margin. Many of these sources, or deep springs, are considered by the superstitious Greeks as the abode of certain malicious nymphs, called Nagarides, (*Ναγαρίδες*,) who endeavour to seduce the incautious traveller to their embraces, and then immerse him, like another Hylas, in the fountain. If, however, the water be sub-

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jected to the exorcism of a skilful priest, these nymphs may be converted into propitious deities, and induced to cure every species of disease and infirmity. Tzarovina is the place which Ali Pasha first occupied in his advances against Ioannina; and here he built a small serai and fortress, mounted by a few cannon: below the lake, near the channel of the Thyamis, his largest powder-mills were situated; but the article was wretchedly manufactured. Advancing about one hour farther we turned suddenly to the right, up a magnificent glen, down which a small river flows into the Kalamas; at this point of the road we met a company of Albanian soldiers escorting several French and Italian prisoners, who had been taken in league with some brigands. Antonietti entered into conversation with his countrymen, who did not much enjoy the prospect of an interview with the dreaded chieftain; but as we did not hear of any punishment being inflicted upon these rogues, it is probable that he received them into his service. After proceeding about a quarter of a mile up the valley, we crossed it and ascended a steep hill towards the town of Delvinaki. Here we met a number of women returning from the toils of agriculture with hoes, spades, and other implements of husbandry in their hands: one poor creature had two infants tied in a kind of bag over her shoulders. Almost all the ground in this district was cultivated by women, while the men were absent during great part of the year at Constantinople, Adrianople, Saloniki, and other large cities, carrying on the trades of butchers and bakers. Many of these sun-burnt daughters of labour had very fine features, the place being noted for the beauty of its women: some of them accosted us with great frankness, and were very inquisitive as to the objects of our journey, the place from whence we came, and the policy of the vizir.

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At the top of the hill we burst suddenly upon Delvinaki, seated in a large circular hollow, around which nothing but bleak and barren rocks appear. It contained four churches and about 350 houses, built for the most part in a style of neatness and comfort; but at least a hundred were uninhabited, owing to the cruel exactions of Ali Pasha. He had long been desirous of converting the place into one of his detestable chiflicks, though opposed in his endeavours by the inhabitants, who were equally desirous of retaining their independence: to subdue this spirit he had recourse to the most oppressive and odious impositions; quartering thousands of his Albanian troops for six months together upon the unfortunate district, and removing them only to introduce a fresh set and subject the inhabitants to greater misery. No resolution could withstand a force like this; and probably the miserable Delvinaki* sank into ruin long before its tyrant.

At this place two principal roads branch off, one towards Delvino and Butrinto, in the direction of Corfu; the other towards the great plain of Argyro-Castro and the north of Albania. We took the latter, and enjoyed a superb prospect from the highest point above Delvinaki, where the eye was carried down the vast chasm that we had passed the day before, and from thence over the extensive mountain scenery of the Kalamas. After passing through a wild country for one hour and a half north-west,

* Its site has been by some mistaken for Nicæum, and for Omphalium by others misled by its umbilical appearance; but after a diligent investigation we could not discover a single trace of antiquity upon the spot. The only inscription we observed was one in modern Greek, carved upon the entrance of a new church and signifying that this sacred edifice had been erected in the year 1812, at the expence of the primates, in the reign of the high and mighty Ali Pasha.

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we arrived at the han of Xerò-Valto, or the *dried marsh*, where the process of drainage had been carried on to a considerable extent, and a large quantity of productive land brought into cultivation. Here I had a serious altercation with our kaivasi Mustafà, who had just discovered that a Greek lad by whom he was attended on the journey, had lost a small parcel containing a shawl. Irritated by this accident he drew his ataghan and beat the poor fellow most unmercifully about the head and shoulders with the back part of it: this passed over; but in a short time the Turk's rage suddenly broke out afresh like a smothered flame; he began to repeat the castigation with double fury upon the unfortunate offender, and would probably have soon proceeded to use the edge of his scimitar, had I not thought proper to interfere; but it was only by a threat of complaining to the vizir that he could be persuaded to remit his indignation.

Soon after this affair we entered into the magnificent and spacious valley of Deròpuli, on the western side of which stands the large city of Argyro-Castro. This plain, as enchanting as any which Arcadia itself can boast, is watered by the river Druno, commonly mistaken for the Celydnus of antiquity: it extends in length more than thirty miles, and varies from four to six in breadth; being inhabited by a population probably of 80,000 souls: near a hundred towns and villages might be enumerated, partly studding the sides of its vast mountain-barriers that rise in Alpine grandeur, partly hid within their sinuous recesses, or embosomed in thick foliage: flocks of sheep and Epirotic herds range through the green pastures, and numerous goats browse upon the lofty precipices. A degree of animation is thus communicated to the solemn and impressive features of nature that is perfectly delightful; nor can I recal to mind a view which unites more of the

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pleasing with the grand. In contemplating this scene, imagination could not help picturing to itself the still more brilliant colours it may assume, when the golden wings of Liberty shall be spread over its soil; when wisdom and justice shall direct the energies, restrain the vices, and encourage the emulation of its inhabitants; when industry shall lead into this terrestrial paradise the sister arts, teaching the transparent stream to fertilize every corner which is now deserted, to mingle the various hues of every opening flower, to spread the umbrageous grove along the plain, and to cover the huge hills with foliage; when architecture too shall distribute its elegant appendages of decoration, in the splendid dome, the lofty tower, and the stately portico, creating scenes adapted to philosophical meditation or scientific research: above all, when true religion shall once more raise her head, diffusing moral happiness among the people, recalling them from their long slumber of ignorance, and animating their hearts to adore the Author of all good!

No district in Albania was so populous as this, though the miserable tenure of the land, which was chiefly that of the chiflick, tended greatly to diminish its inhabitants. The principal articles of produce are corn, rice, and tobacco, besides vast flocks of sheep and goats, which are seen scattered over the mountains. We remained for about an hour at the beautiful village of Palaia-Episcopi, intersected by transparent rills which turn the wheels of numerous water-mills, where the best snuff in Albania is manufactured. A few miles beyond Episcopi we descended into the vale, and crossed the river nearly opposite the large scattered town of Libochobo, lying near a deep chasm in the mountain chain of Mertzika. This place, with its territory, was a chiflick of Ali's blood-thirsty sister Shaïnitza, who at this time occupied a large seraglio there.

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On the western side of the valley, and at no great distance from the river, Signore Nicolo pointed out the vestiges of a small Roman theatre and some other foundations, upon a spot which he designated by the name of Drinopolis, an evident corruption of Hadrianopolis, which in very early ages was called Phanote, and in later times Justinianopolis.* In a little more than one hour we arrived at Argyro-Castro, whose unequal rocky acclivities, intersected by deep chasms, dividing it into several distinct partitions, give it a grand and imposing aspect. The houses, which were generally good, and belonged chiefly to Turkish proprietors, were not contiguous, but stood in various positions, some on commanding eminences, others beneath projecting crags, and many on the ridges of precipices; but the greatest part upon the flat surfaces of the rock, between its deep ravines: the whole appearance was singularly striking, and its fine effect augmented not only by the minarets of its mosques, but by the grand castle or fortress, at this time nearly completed, upon a much larger scale than was ever before adopted in this country.

After dinner we took a walk into the city, where our appearance attracted great curiosity. Many Albanian guards came up and entered into converse with us; but there was nothing uncivil or impertinent in their address, and they freely communicated all they knew respecting the works going forward, the views of the vizir, his wars with the Argyro-Castrites, and their subsequent capitulation. Among these troops it was difficult to distinguish officers from privates, by dress, or style of conversation, or any assumption of superiority. A captain of artillery,

* Argyro-Castro has succeeded to its consequence, though not to its site, upon which it is erroneously placed in the maps. Οὗ δὴ καὶ πόλις αὐτῷ (sc. Justiniano) πεποίηται Ἰουστινιανούπολις, ἡ πρότερον Ἀδριανούπολις καλουμένη. Procop. de Ædif. l. iv. c. 1.

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named Gianko, was extremely civil, and accompanied us during the whole of our walk. This man, who stood high in the confidence of Ali, had been actively engaged in the massacre of the Gardikiotes; and in the circumstantial account which he gave us of that horrid catastrophe, declared that eighty persons only were selected by the vizir as objects of clemency. During our excursion we heard doleful cries and loud lamentations, proceeding from several houses: we inquired the reason of this circumstance from our guides, who informed us that the women were still bewailing husbands and sons who had fallen in battle against the vizir: now many of these had been thus occupied for seven years at least; yet no one appeared surprised at the folly of the observance: so powerful is the force of custom! I remember listening frequently at Ioannina to the cries of a matron who had lost her husband seventeen years before in a Russian campaign, but had never omitted howling three times a day after she received the tidings of his death.*

—ὑφ' ἵμερον ὄρσε γόοιο.

The weather being very fine we never thought of abridging our excursion, but considerably fatigued ourselves in making the circuit of this craggy city, which occupied a space large enough for double its population, then computed at about 15,000 souls. The bazar was spacious, and well supplied with articles of commerce: but before the vizir's conquest, Argyro-Castro was the principal depôt for internal trade; and Ali by contriving to seize the persons

* In a similar manner the wandering Ulysses seems to have been lamented by his faithful Penelope.

Ἐς δ' ὑπερῷ' ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶ,
Κλαῖεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα φίλων πόσιν, ὄφρα οἱ ὕπνον
Ἡδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Od. α. 362.

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of many Argyro-Castrite merchants scattered about the country, facilitated greatly the reduction of the place. Parts of its site are rendered very picturesque by the chasms which intersect it, whose sides are lined with habitations intermingled with trees, shrubs, and gardens: these situations however are exposed to great dangers from the mountain torrents, which, after heavy rains or the melting of snow, sometimes sweep down every thing before them. About three years ago a terrible inundation of this kind carried away more than sixty houses, with their inhabitants, in the deep ravine which lies to the north of the castle: their ruins still attested the extent of the calamity. On our return home we found poor Nicolo very unwell, and in bed: an officer also had arrived from young Salee Bey to offer his congratulations upon our arrival.

Next morning, having sent a messenger to apprize the young Bey of our visit and deliver a letter from his brother Mouchtar, we set out to view the fortress. We were received at the great entrance by our friend Gianko, and conducted into the apartment of the governor Hassan Bey, an elderly man, who had accompanied the vizir in most of his early campaigns: nor could any greater mark of confidence have been placed in him by his sovereign, than the command of this fortress, with the care of his favourite son and intended successor. The person of this old chief was fine, though his apparel was coarse, and even dirty; he wore a little red skull-cap on his head, and a large coarse cloak of goat's hair thrown over his shoulders: he treated us with pipes and coffee, but spoke to us through the medium of an interpreter, as he was only acquainted with the Albanian language. After remaining about half an hour in his little mean apartment, which was totally devoid not only of grandeur but of neatness and comfort, we proceeded

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with Gianko to view the fortifications, deferring our visit to Salee Bey, that we might not interrupt him in his studies. The spacious area of this castle contained not only barracks for the accommodation of five thousand troops, but a large seraglio and a mosque. The subterranean magazines were well calculated to secure ammunition and provisions; the walls being of great thickness, though in some places they displayed too much haste in their construction: subterranean passages led to all parts of the building, and water was brought by an aqueduct over a space of about six miles. In one apartment we were shown a curious mill for grinding corn without either wind, water, steam, or any other power but that of clock-work: it required to be wound up only once in twenty-four hours, during which time the stone made 42,000 turns and ground 1400 ochas of flour: it was the invention of a poor Greek artificer, who had worked with some Frenchmen at Taigan in the Crimea. From the battlements of this castle we had a noble view of the grand plain of Derò̀puli, which presented an appearance of fertility and animation wonderful in this country. Forty cannon only were mounted, but forty-five more were expected: that end of the fortress towards the mountain was defended solely by a large traversing gun at the south-west bastion; amongst others we remarked several pieces of English and French ordnance, together with about a dozen brass field-pieces standing upon a platform near the south-east corner. I observed to Captain Gianko that the whole castle was commanded by a position on the south-west, and he said it was in contemplation to secure that by the erection of a strong outwork. About 1500 peasants were busily employed in the various labours of this building, being by an oppressive avania allowed only rations of coarse calamboci

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bread by way of remuneration: and this for the forgery of their own fetters!

After having inspected these works, we adjourned to a room in the serai, for the purpose of paying our respects to Salee Bey, whom we found in company with his tutor. He received the obeisance of our attendants with a dignity that would have surprised us, if we had not known that lessons of etiquette are among the first in which youth of high rank in these countries are instructed: he appeared pleased to see us, and asked many questions about his father and brother; but we thought him deficient both in manners and acquirements when compared with his nephew Mahmet Pasha, who was about his own age. Motioning Nicolo to sit near him on the sofa, he questioned him, in a low tone of voice, respecting a difference which he observed in Mr. Parker's dress and my own, as why he wore a sabre and I did not, why his pantaloons were blue and mine white; but he desired his informant not to look at us, lest we might think he was discoursing about us, which, he added, would not be courteous towards strangers. The complexion of this youth was fair, his hair and eyes light, and his physiognomy bore a strong resemblance to that of his father; he was considered docile, and rather of a mild disposition, although I understand he afterwards showed traits of that vindictive spirit which distinguished the paternal character. He was receiving instruction in the Turkish, Albanian, and Romaic languages; he was daily trained in bodily exercises, and every opportunity taken to ingratiate him with the Albanian tribes that were expected to be his future subjects. At our departure he promised to send us a letter to his mother, then resident at Tepeleni, adding that she would be proud to entertain Englishmen as her guests; and when we arose he accom-

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panied us to the door of his apartment, wishing us a pleasant journey and every kind of prosperity.

In the evening an Albanian colonel, accompanied by a dozen guards, brought the promised letter to our lodging: our friend Gianko also called; and two or three Greek gentlemen dropping in, we detained them all to pipes and coffee, and discussed the valour and politics of Ali Pasha over a flowing bowl of punch made in Antonietti's best manner.

Next morning we intended to have resumed our journey, but Nicolo complained so much of the state of his health, that we thought it right to wait another day, to see what turn his complaint might take. Early in the morning, being accompanied by Demetrio, I ascended the mountainous steep behind the city with an intention of gaining the summit; but we found this impracticable, on account of the many deep chasms which presented themselves in our path. About noon, Nicolo feeling better, I walked out with him, on a visit to poor Demetrio Athanasi, whose fine house at Ioannina had been seized by Ali for his nephew the Pasha of Ochrida. A small miserable tenement was now the residence of this wretched family, who had been long accustomed to all the comforts and luxuries of life: its master appeared gradually sinking under the attacks of a slow fever, nor did any consolation or medicine afford him relief.

Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria.

The cause of this worthy man's exile and the confiscation of his property, when explained, is enough to make one shudder at the insufferable tyranny under which he was doomed to breathe: it was a refusal to let one of his

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beautiful children become a victim to the despot's lust within the walls of his accursed harem!

Soon after our return, a person was introduced who had brought, at my request, a paper from the Bishop of Argyro-Castro, containing the number of villages and inhabitants in the valley of the Druno. As I understood the bearer had taken the trouble to copy out this document for my use, I presented him with a small pecuniary remuneration: he showed great good-nature in accepting it; for I found, to my utter confusion, that I had been feeing one of the most dignified canons of the church. I had not made such a mistake since the time when I gave a pair of English razors to the old dragoman at Tripolitza, who prided himself upon the longest beard in the Morea, a beard which steel had never touched since it first sprouted from his chin, and which he nourished with a more than parental attachment. Beside the statistical paper, the canon gave me a curious history of the settlement of Argyro-Castro, or rather of Drinopolis, written in excellent Romaic, which refers its foundation to Theseus, king of Athens, and contains numberless other inconsistencies and absurdities.

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Fountain of Viroua and Fort of Schindriada in the Valley of Argyro-Castro.

CHAPTER XII.

April 2d.—Signore Nicolo being still indisposed, we left him, and set out in a northerly direction along the western side of the valley. We passed, at some distance on our right, the fortress of Schindriada, crowning the summit of an abrupt eminence: it was built by the vizir about nine years before the surrender of Argyro-Castro, to annoy his enemies and protect that line of country through which he was obliged frequently to pass. In one hour and a half we came to a deep fountain, by the road-side, called Viroua, where the water rises, as it were, out of a profound crater, curling at the surface into broad eddies: it then flows precipitously over a steep rock and forms at once a river. In about half an hour more we turned suddenly to the left, through an opening in the mountain

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barrier, down which a torrent from the melted snow, flowing rapidly towards the plain, made it difficult for our horses to keep their legs: the ruins of many villages on all sides scathed by the flames of war, testified the cruel mode of warfare practised by the Albanian soldiery. We toiled for more than an hour up this wild and rugged glen, when the mountains, suddenly taking on each side a bold sweep, formed a perfect amphitheatre, and displayed to view the ruins of Gardiki, spread over the sides and summit of a conical hill which rises in the centre of its vast area: high above this mountainous enclosure appeared the huge summits of Acroceraunia, whose wintry snows, now melting, allowed the spiry fir here and there to peep out from beneath its resplendent mantle: few cities could boast of so superb a site. Near the foot of the hill we passed a large farm-house which once served as an outpost to the garrison: the doors and walls, pierced with a thousand bullets, testified the sharp conflicts it had lately sustained: in the plain beyond we observed a small village peopled by Suliots, who had been collected on this spot by the pasha's orders; it was thought he meditated to take some signal vengeance upon these unfortunate victims when he had got as many as possible within his grasp.

Having crossed a deep ravine, which defended the city towards the south and east, we ascended its steep hill by a winding narrow path which but a short time before had led Ali's troops to victory. Upon a detached eminence to the right stood a small citadel, whose ruined walls presented nothing worthy of notice: after slightly inspecting them, we entered at once into the mournful skeleton of Gardiki, "a peopled city made a desert place," where no living beings disturbed the solitude, but serpents, owls, and bats. A chilling kind of sensation, like the fascination of some

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deadly spell, benumbs the senses, and almost stops the respiration of him who treads, as it were, upon the prostrate corpse of a great city, just abandoned by the animating spirit. The feeling is very different from that which he experiences amidst the fine ruins of antiquity, whose aspect, mellowed down by time and unconnected with any terrible convulsion, inspires only pleasing melancholy, or animating reflections: but here the frightful contrast of a recent dreadful overthrow appals him; and while the deep silence is broken only by the breeze sighing in the ruins and the funereal cypresses which here and there wave over them, he almost expects to meet a spectre at every step.

Amidst these monuments of destruction we found our progress often interrupted by vast masses; nor after an hour's ramble did we discover one habitation which had not suffered in the work of demolition: even the tombs were razed, and the very mosques themselves had not escaped profanation; so duly had the vengeance of an implacable foe been executed: one minaret alone peered out amidst surrounding fragments, to the top of which we ascended, that we might contemplate in its whole extent this melancholy scene. From hence we observed a solitary dervish stealing gently from the covert of some ruins at a distance: probably the poor man had come, in spite of Ali's dire anathema, to live and die amid the relics of this once populous city, to weep over the memory of former days, of friends departed, and connexions broken. Yet the heart of him who had thus rudely torn asunder all the bands of social life, gloried in the dreadful deed, the memory of which, instead of festering like a canker in his bosom, seemed rather a source of joy and exultation.

In our return down the fiumara we marked with sur-

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prise the immense quantity of sand and pebbles which a wintry torrent in these mountainous countries will carry into the plain, overwhelming many acres of fine land at its mouth with the most unfruitful materials.

——— d' infeconda arena
Semina i prati e le campagne amene.

Opposite, in the plain, we observed the deserted han of Valiarè, whose walls enclose the mouldering bones of the Gardikiotes, that warlike tribe, which fell not on the battle field, where the shout of rushing squadrons might have sounded their requiem; but like sheep penned up for slaughter, and whose death-song was in the screams of Epirotic vultures that scented from afar their blood. The door was nailed up, and over it an inscription openly testified the dreadful deed, declaring that a similar punishment awaited the wretch who should dare to offer dishonour to the family of Ali.

At about eleven miles from Argyro-Castro, and nine from Tepeleni, the great plain contracts itself into a narrow valley, where a good han appears, near a lofty bridge of a single arch, thrown across the Druno. Soon afterwards this valley becomes a chasm, compressing the bed of the river into a very narrow compass between its parallel ridges of mountains. At the distance of a mile from Tepeleni we passed that magnificent defile anciently called the Fauces Antigoneæ, where Philip was attacked by the Consul Flaminius, and where the rapid Voïussa, the Æas or Aöus of antiquity,* receives the tributary stream of the Druno between the opposite heights of Asnaus and Æropus.

* Flumen Aous a quibusdam Æas appellatum. Plin. N. H. lib. iii. c. 23. It flows from seven fountains on Mount Pindus, beneath the town of

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The shades of evening almost hid the beauties of Tepeleni from the view as we entered the court of its grand seraglio; where as soon as we were settled in its best apartments, the governor came to offer his congratulations upon our arrival, bringing also those of the Sultana, with an intimation that her ladies were preparing to send us a dinner from the harem. We returned a proper acknowledgment of this unexpected favour, together with a letter which we had brought from Salee Bey: and to say the truth, nothing could exceed the civilities paid to us during our stay by this unseen benefactress: we learned however that female curiosity prompted her to take a transient view of her guests, through a latticed window, as they passed into the great court. Our unexpected arrival obliged us to wait a considerable time for dinner, which was announced by musical instruments and brought in by a crowd of slaves and Albanian guards, who stood around the table during our repast, Ibrahim the Albanian governor dining with us, and paying due respect to the dainties of the harem: he was an intelligent man, full of conversation, and well acquainted with the early life of Ali, concerning whom he amused us with many interesting anecdotes; for he remembered the vizir when he had not where to lay his head. He spoke to us of his mother, whom he described as possessing all the martial qualities of an Amazon, with the spirit of a Laconian matron: he also extolled the good qualities of Salee Bey, and appeared as if he entered into his master's projects respecting the future destiny of that youth. Thus the evening passed very agreeably till bedtime, when a party of slaves came into the room, bearing in their hands, and on their heads, silken mattresses, rich

Mezzovo, and passing near the cities of Konitza, Ostanizza, Premeti, Klissura, and Tepeleni, falls into the Adriatic below the ruins of Apollonia.

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coverlets of embroidered velvet, pillows of the same material, with a species of fine Constantinople gauze for sheets, and all the apparatus of bed-furniture, magnificent enough for princes: δάπιδας καὶ ποικίλα προσκεφάλαια. These articles were spread out upon the sofas of the divan,* and we retired to the comfort of sleep, which requires not much wooing from those who have undergone the fatigues of travelling in this country: not even the novelty of the scene or the roughness of the sheets could keep us long awake. As soon however as we were laid out in state, the governor, with several other officers of the palace, came into the room under pretence of wishing us good night; but in reality to satisfy their curiosity regarding the mode in which Englishmen lie in bed. I observed them sneering a little at our effeminacy; their own custom being to throw off merely the upper garment and to recline upon the divan, with no covering but a thick paploma, and with that only during the cold season. From this cause, and their great aversion to a change of linen, the hircinus odor attaches itself strongly to Albanian society.

Next morning we took a view of the town, which was interesting as the birth-place of the late ruler of Epirus. It stands upon the high bank of the Voïussa, which is here about as broad as the Thames at Kew, and like the Araxes indignant at a bridge: a fine structure of this kind, which was thrown across it during the times of the Lower Empire, had been left in a ruinous state by the violence of the stream; and though the vizir expended fifteen hundred purses in repairs, all his efforts were in vain: not quite two years before our visit a dreadful

* Had the season been more advanced, and the weather sultry, we should have requested to sleep in the portico, like the Ithacensian prince in the palace of Alcinous. Od. η. 355.

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inundation swept away the new works, and left the old broken arches in their former state of a picturesque ruin. The engineer whose repairs were so unceremoniously disposed of, was a singular character called Selim Agà, the son of an English gentleman named Bailey, who, having offended his father in a love engagement, was sent upon his travels to break off the connexion. At Constantinople he was hospitably received by the British Ambassador, until he one day presented himself before a large party assembled at his Excellency's table, to say that he had turned Mahometan, and had undergone the ceremony of circumcision. His future intercourse was of course prohibited; but he married a beautiful Turkish wife, and endeavoured to push his fortunes as a civil engineer. This expedition to Tepeleni cost him his life; for having to undergo considerable fatigue, and to travel during the fast of the Ramazan, he sank under the severe privations to which he had never been accustomed.

Tepeleni contained about two hundred houses, with a population exclusively Albanian: it possessed no architectural beauties, if we except the grand seraglio which Ali built upon the site of his paternal mansion: I speak indeed of the seraglio which then was; for a new edifice was afterwards erected upon the ruins of that we saw, which was accidentally burnt by fire in 1818. The account of this conflagration, which I received from an Albanian correspondent, is worthy of detail, since it tends strongly to illustrate the character which these pages are intended to portray.

The mischief was occasioned either by the negligence of some attendants of Salee Bey, who was at Tepeleni on a visit to his mother, or by a storm of thunder and lightning which occurred at that time. However this may be, about the middle of the night the whole palace was in flames.

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In the horror of this scene the Sultana, with the other ladies of the harem, endeavoured to escape through the doors of their apartments, but were actually met and driven back by the ataghans of the eunuchs appointed as their guards: these wretches would rather have seen them all fall a prey to the devouring element, than exposed to the lawless gaze of public curiosity: such is the force of Mahometan prejudice! In this extremity they let themselves down through the casements of the windows, which they broke and tore away for that purpose: before morning scarcely a vestige was left of that superb edifice which Ali had raised upon the residence of his forefathers. His rage and fury was so dreaded, that it was thought proper at once to ascribe the cause of this misfortune to the effect of lightning, without hinting at the possibility of any other. As soon as he received intelligence of the misfortune he set off instantly, hardly resting day or night till he arrived at Tepeleni; where he felt some consolation when he found that the subterranean chambers in which he kept his plate and other valuables were uninjured, as well as the great tower in the garden, the depository of his treasures. He now set his head at work to contrive some plan for restoring the edifice without incurring any expense. His first care was to issue proclamations throughout his dominions stating that the vengeance of heaven had fallen upon him, and that Ali had no longer a home in the place of his ancestors: he called therefore upon his loving subjects to assist him in his distress, and fixed a day on which he expected their attendance. At the time appointed Tepeleni was crowded with deputies from various districts; with his old associates and friends; with his children, and relations of every degree. At the outer gate of the seraglio the vizir was seen seated upon a dirty mat, cross-legged and bare-headed, with a red Albanian cap in

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his hands to receive contributions. He had been cunning enough to send beforehand to several of his retainers, from whose poverty little could be expected, large sums of money; which they now brought and restored to him as if they had been voluntary presents from their own stores. When therefore any bey or primate offered a sum less than his expectations, he compared his niggardly avarice with the liberality of others, who must have deprived themselves even of the necessaries of life for his sake, refusing the present in the following terms: "What good will this do to Ali, a man afflicted by the divine vengeance? Take it back, murrie, take it back, and keep it for your own necessities." Such a hint was quite sufficient to double or treble the contribution; and by these means he collected a sum of money which enabled him not only to rebuild the seraglio, but to add very considerably to the treasures in his garden.

After breakfast we set out to investigate the ruins of a palaio-castro, which lie about one hour from Tepeleni. The road led us for about a mile up the stream of the Bentza, a small river which flows into the Voiussa below the town. At a village of the same name, its bed is contracted by two converging ridges of Mount Argenick, a branch of Acroceraunia: here the vizir had established extensive powder-mills, and the scenery is very romantic. We crossed the river by a handsome bridge of a single arch, and proceeding in an easterly direction, soon discovered the object of our excursion situated upon a moderate eminence, in a district called Jarresi; but from the mode of its construction it scarcely seems so ancient as the time of Justinian; possibly it may have been erected by the Norman invaders of this country in the reign of Alexius Comnenus.

On our return we took a walk in the extensive gardens

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of the seraglio, laid out by two Italians in the style of their own country. These men were deserters from the French at Corfu, whom Ali received gladly into his service, giving to each a house, with a good salary, and a wife from his own harem of Tepeleni.

Οἰκόν τε κλῆρόν τε πολυμνήστην τε γυναῖκα.

We caught a view of these liberated captives during our walk, but they did not seem to possess much beauty or elegance. The great tower, in which more than two millions sterling were withdrawn from circulation, was a vast oblong building three stories high, and secured by ponderous doors, of which Ali alone kept a key. Such are the resources of ambitious tyrants who are unable to establish or sustain public credit by any constitutional guarantees, and are dependent upon their people's fears rather than their love for support.

This day the sultana sent us a very excellent dinner from the harem, consisting of soup, ragouts, pilau, and various kinds of pastry, at which we were again gratified by the company of the governor. When the wine, of which we partook freely, had opened the heart of this worthy old Mussulman, his tongue became very fluent, and he entertained us with many curious and interesting anecdotes. At night we slept again in splendid misery, and if I had not feared it might have been taken for incivility, I would have made a retreat into my snug little trunk-bed.

Early in the morning, after making our best acknowledgments to our kind hostess for the hospitality we had experienced, we departed for Berat, taking Demetrio alone to attend us, and sending Antonietti with the luggage through the defile of Antigonea to await our arrival at Premeti. As we descended towards the river, a mad

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dervish came jumping out of the portico of a new mosque near the serai, vociferating the most horrid imprecations against our Christian heads: the application of some paras, however, quickly changed his tone, and the poor wretch remained dancing in the wild manner of his fraternity upon the bank, and eulogizing us in a most Stentorian voice till we were out of sight.

We crossed the Voïussa in a curious kind of trough, broader at one end than the other, the horses being driven with great shouts and cracking of whips into the river, and made to gain the opposite bank by swimming: much confusion ensued; but when all had arrived safe at the other side, the saddles and luggage were replaced, and we followed the course of the Voïussa north, about six miles, where it turns westward, in the direction of Apollonia. The country now began to lie in a regular ascent, the road winding along the side of continued chains of low hills, rising one above the other. Nearly half way between Tepeleni and Berat we gained the highest point, when the views both before and behind us were extremely grand. In front we looked over a mountainous country, which can be compared to nothing so well as to the Atlantic in a storm: the extreme horizon verging to the left was bounded by the hills around Durazzo, that on the right by the mighty Tomour, which in bulk and general outline bears a great resemblance to Etna: his huge head, clothed in a bright snowy mantle, rose splendidly sublime, like a citadel which the mountain Genius of this wild territory might fix upon for his dwelling. Behind us was a spectacle still more superb: the Voïussa pouring down a foaming torrent between its Alpine boundaries; the distant summits of Pindus; the noble scenery of Derópuli; and the vast mountains of Kimarra, those dreaded heights of Acroceraunia, little inferior to the huge Tomour

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itself, which reflected in their snow-capt peaks the brilliant tints of the rising sun. After having feasted our eyes some time with these enchanting prospects, we descended into a deep fiumara, through which the road continues for about two hours; from which point all the rivers take a different direction, and instead of flowing towards the bed of the Voïussa, seek to pour their tribute into the river of Berat, the ancient Apsus.* The manners of the people in these northern regions seemed much more wild and barbarous than those to which we had hitherto been accustomed. The peasants stared at us with a curiosity bordering upon insolence, while the women and children ran away, or if we came upon them unawares, turned their faces from us till we had passed. The villages, some on the declivities of the mountains, and others in the valleys, had a dull and gloomy appearance, the houses being built of a dark red stone, all widely distant from each other: their construction served to give us some notion of that dreadful insecurity which reduced society to such a state of misery that even the conquests of Ali Pasha could not augment it: each mansion was formed like a tower, the entrance to which was in the second story, and whenever any member of the family wanted ingress or egress, a rope ladder was lowered and drawn up again by the rest: no apertures admitted the free light of heaven to these keeps

* There can be little doubt respecting this identity. The river of Berat is the only one of any consequence between Durazzo and Apollonia, through the intermediate territory of which places it flows into the Adriatic sea. That this was the direction of the Apsus, vid. Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 27. "Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apolloniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat campum.' See also Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. c. 13. It was on the banks of this river that the first actions took place between Cæsar and Pompey. "Inter bina castra Pompeii atque Cæsaris unum flumen tantum intererat Apsus," &c. De Bell. Civ. lib. iii. c. 19, &c.

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or dungeons, except a few loop-holes pierced in the wall, from whence the family muskets might be pointed against a foe. Almost all the inhabitants of these regions profess the Mahometan faith, though they know as much about Mahomet as the Grand Lama: they abjured Christianity to save their possessions, and are despised equally by Osmanlis and Greeks. A few years ago this country was impassable to a foreigner; for every house which he had ventured to approach would have teemed with muskets aimed against his life. Such were the good old feudal times of Albania!

Within a few miles of Berat, which is distant twelve hours from Tepeleni, the aspect of the country appeared more pleasing and cultivated, and the manners of the people more civilized: about sunset we entered a charming valley extending towards the north, through which a gentle stream flows into the Apsus and distributes verdure and fertility in its course. Here we observed, in several instances, a nearer approach to the country villa than we had before seen in Turkey: some houses on the banks of the river were surrounded by a lawn, plantations, and fences, which a little more taste might have rendered very agreeable retreats. The rich mellow tints of the sky shed an additional lustre upon the landscape, as we turned to the right up the magnificent valley of the Apsus, where the towers and minarets of Berat burst full upon the view, with huge Tomour rearing his gigantic head in mid-air: the grandeur of the view was so striking, that we should have thought it a sufficient recompense for the fatigue of our journey.

Such scenes as these will justify the bard, who thus describes them after his inspection of the most classic regions that have been celebrated in the songs of poets.

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From the dark barriers of that rugged clime,
Ev'n to the centre of Illyria's vales,
Childe Harold pass'd o'er many a mount sublime,
Through lands scarce noticed in historic tales;
Yet in fam'd Attica such lovely dales
Are rarely seen; nor can fair Tempe boast
A charm they know not; lov'd Parnassus fails
Though classic ground and consecrated most
To match some spots that lurk within this lowering coast.

About half a mile up the valley a fine bridge of eight arches across the Apsus, leads into a picturesque burial ground and suburb; to the east of which rises a noble hill crowned by a citadel and serai; both of which had lately been much enlarged by their conqueror: from the bridge a road runs along the right bank of the river to the city, which lies higher up the valley, chiefly around the south-east side of its acropolis. The inhabitants of Berat being almost entirely Mahometan, we were lodged with a Greek merchant named Nicolachi, in the large Christian suburb of Goritza: though this house was one of the best in the place, and the family left the best room in it for our accommodation, its filth and suffocating smell was quite appalling! We found the master seated round the fire with half a dozen loungers, who were nearly hid from view by a dense smoke issuing into the room instead of passing through the chimney. How insignificant such trifles appear to those who are accustomed to them, may be inferred from the following short dialogue which took place between Mr. Parker and our host:—"C' è fumo quì, Signore."—"Sì, Signore, dal fuoco." The night did not pass without our apprehensions being fulfilled regarding the nocturnal enemies which assailed our quarters, and next morning the Augean stable was cleansed by our attendants, to the perfect astonishment of the host, who appeared to glory in the antiquity of his dirt.

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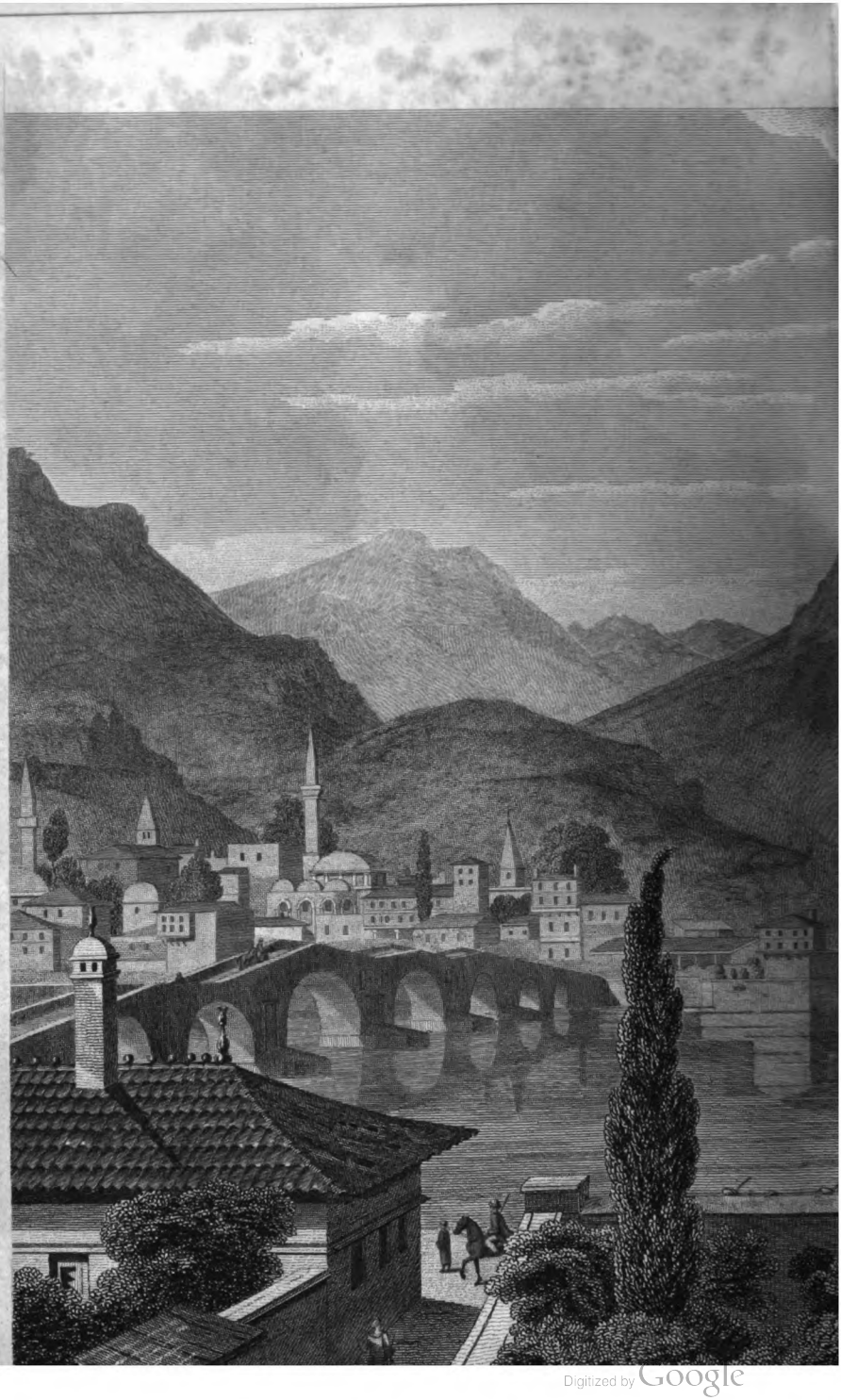

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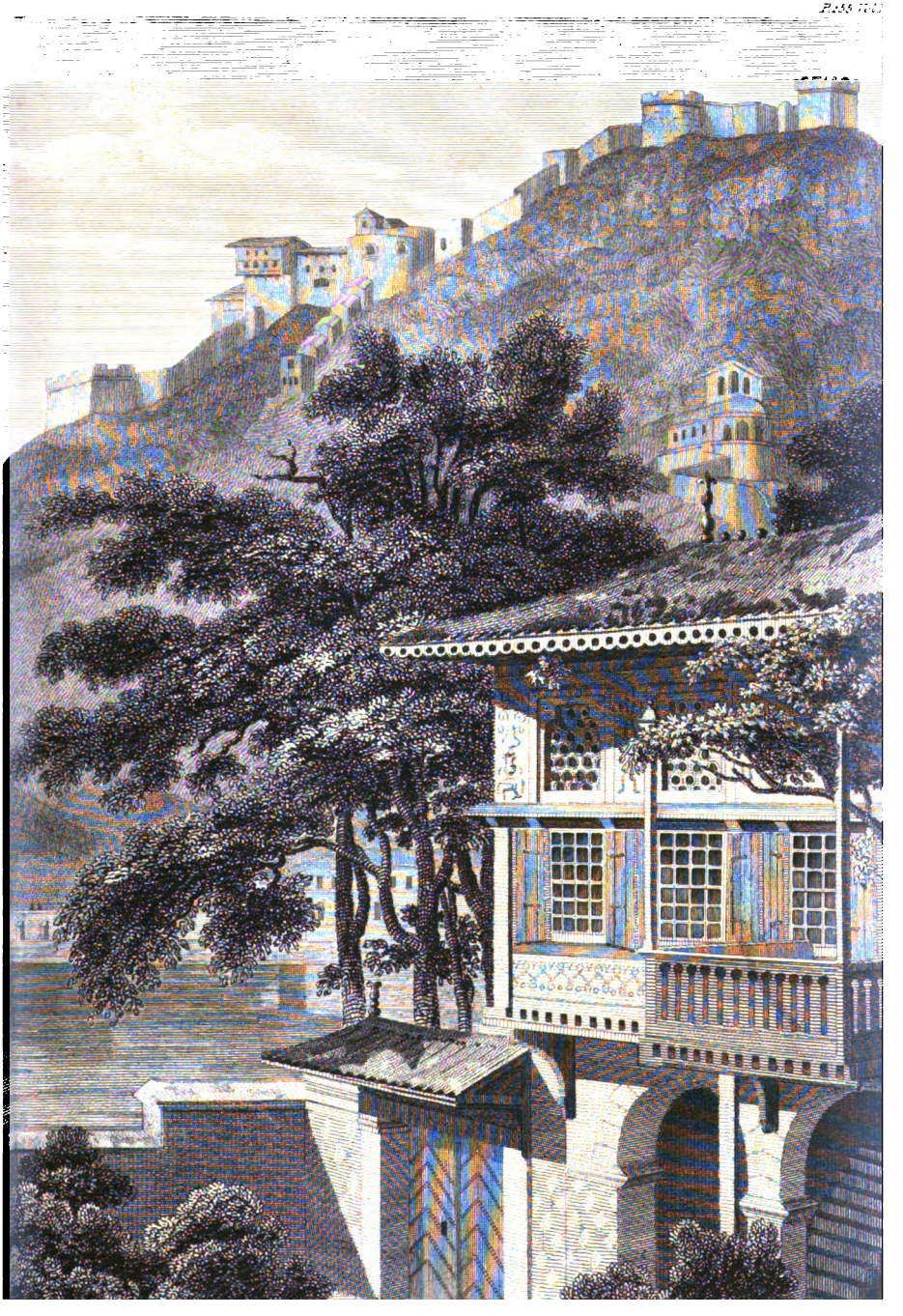

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Unable to sleep, I arose with the sun and accompanied Mustafà to the city. In passing over the bridge, as well as in the suburbs, we met many Turkish ladies riding out on horseback to take the morning air: they sat astride upon the saddle with their feet in stirrups, whilst a male attendant generally walked before each horse and carried a short stick in his hand. Some of them were unveiled, not expecting, I suppose, to meet the polluting eyes of a Christian at this time in the day. Throughout Upper Albania it seemed as if a certain colour predominated in female apparel as connected with particular districts: in Argyro-Castro this was a light straw colour: at Berat it was blue; in which latter city a very singular and striking fashion also prevailed in the head-dress of the women: this consisted of a cap or bonnet, nearly two feet high, in shape like a bishop's mitre: it was made generally of blue cloth, well stuffed, and fastened under the chin by ribbons.

The bazar, which is very handsome and spacious, lies close to the river, and abounds in articles brought from Constantinople and Macedonia, as well as in foreign goods imported through the sea-port of Avlona: it was now full market, and the appearance of a foreigner excited no small degree of curiosity. Mustafà however, being of Macedonian origin, was soon recognised, and kissed upon the cheek, according to custom, by many old acquaintances: before we thought of returning to our lodging, his brother, who had heard of his approach, and made a journey from the city of Monastir to meet him, alighted from his horse at the door of a han. The affectionate embraces and tears of joy shed by these two semi-barbarians at this rencontre were so affecting, that I felt loth to separate them and returned home alone.

Soon after breakfast our kaivasi rejoined us, and we

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proceeded to pay a visit to Hussein Bey, Mouchtar's eldest son, who resided here as his father's caimacam, under the superintendence of old Usuff-Araps, in the old seraglio at the foot of the acropolis. He received us very civilly, and expressed a wish of rendering us all the services in his power; but there was nothing remarkable either in his person or his manners, though his disposition seemed more amiable and his mind more cultivated than that of his father; he was not nineteen years old, but had been married two years: as he intimated that some ancient remains might be seen within the fortifications of the acropolis, and made an offer of sending us upon his horses up the height, we accepted it; and whilst the steeds were brought out of the stables, where they generally stand ready caparisoned, we adjourned to the apartments of Usuff-Araps; but were unable to see him, as the old gentleman was indisposed: he was flattered however by our intention, for he sent us a magnificent turkey for dinner. In descending the staircase we heard the prancing and neighing of the horses in the court, and observed two cream-coloured chargers, destined for Mr. Parker and myself, plunging about with an appearance of ungovernable fury: they were the most picturesque animals I ever beheld, and, in their broad haunches and chests, thick-curved necks and waving manes, small heads and eyes of fire, finely illustrated that splendid description of the oriental war-horse in the book of Job. Our ride was not one of the most agreeable kind; nor was it very easy to sit these spirited animals upon a Turkish saddle, that precludes all pressure of the knee, which in our own style of riding contributes chiefly to a good seat. My steed soon became so ungovernable, that if his groom had not ran up and seized the bridle, I believe we should have both made a precipitate descent

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down a chasm many hundred feet in depth: as I dismounted at the serai, this vicious beast threw out his heels, and then ran at me open-mouthed, when I only escaped by running up the staircase. Another source of alarm also occurred at this time: great repairs being carried on in the fortress, the court was nearly filled with carts and sledges drawn by buffaloes: these animals have a decided antipathy to the colour of scarlet, in which Mr. Parker and myself, having just paid a visit of ceremony to the bey, were dressed. A menagerie broken loose would give but a faint idea of the noise and tumult which ensued: several of the beasts even upset their carriages and broke their yokes in exertions to get free. To quiet this affray we made a speedy retreat into the interior of the serai, where we were courteously received by Ismail Bey, a rich Turk of Ioannina, and father-in-law of Hussein. After the usual refreshment of pipes and coffee, and an interesting conversation with this polite and high-bred Osmanli, he accompanied us through the fortifications, pointing out a hill, about five hundred yards distant, from whence Ali battered these works, in the time of Ibrahim Pasha, with four pieces of ordnance, and forced him to a capitulation. Ibrahim had not recourse to this measure before the balls began to penetrate into his own apartment, where we still saw the vestiges. In our egress from the citadel, we observed some massive building of the ancient Greeks, which formed the lower part of its construction, of a rough species of Isodomon, in which the blocks are of immense size. From thence we made a circuit of the hill, to which the title of acropolis well applies, since a small town is contained between its lines of circumvallation, wherein are many Greek churches of the Lower Empire: I entertain no doubt but that the whole city

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once occupied this site, and that the lower town is an addition since the Turkish conquest.* What its ancient name was, I confess myself unable to decide;† nor is it at all certain at what time it received its present appellation. It is mentioned by many of the Byzantine historians under the title of Balagrada and Balagrita, and is now called Arnaout Belgrade‡ to distinguish it from the celebrated city of this name upon the banks of the Danube. The Greek emperors sometimes made this their head-quarters when they came to chastise the

* Indeed I find it asserted in the Life of Scanderbeg that the city was situated upon the top of the mountain. By Meletius it is called, πόλις τετειχισμένη ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τινὸς βουνοῦ, με Θρόνον Ἐπισκόπου.

† Some have ascribed it to Eordea, erroneously, as I think; because Pliny places the Eordenses among the tribes of Pæonia (lib. iv. c. 10.), in which he is confirmed by Strabo, who, in describing the great Ignatian road, says it ran from Apollonia through the Candavian mountains of Illyricum to Lychnidus and Pylon, at which latter place were the conterminous borders of Illyricum and Macedonia: from thence it led through Heraclea to the country of the Lyncestæ, next through that of the Eordi, and then to Edessa and Pella, till it ended at Thessalonica. Polybius also places Eordea in Macedonia (lib. xxii.), and so does Thucydides (lib. ii. p. 164. ed. Duk.) Moreover I do not find any mention in ancient authors of a city called Eordea, but only a country (vid. Steph. Byz. in Voce.) Among the many uncertain names of the cities of this region, I should be inclined to fix upon Antipatria for the site of Berat, a city which was taken by Apustius, a lieutenant of Sulpicius, in the war between the Roman republic and Philip King of Macedonia; for Livy speaks of this place as being on the borders of Macedonia, as situated in faucibus angustis, and as inspiring confidence into its inhabitants by the strength of its walls and site, (magnitudine ac mœnibus situque urbis,) lib. xxxi. c. 27: but all the topography of this country is extremely obscure, and it is much easier to find fault with the conjectures of other people than to form a good one.

‡ Nomen habet hoc Albaniæ vel Arbaniæ (sicut vulgus Græcorum vocat) Beligradum, hoc est, arx Alba. Quippe conjuncta cum oppido arx est, quæ a Valona, celeberrima nunc etiam Epiri civitate (Leo Imperator Auloniam, veteres Aulonem dixerunt) unius itinere diei distat. Leunclavii, Pand. Hist. Turc. p. 444.

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revolted Albanians or other lawless tribes among these districts. It is a very important post, the key of all this part of the country. The great Scanderbeg himself failed in his attempts to recover it from the Turks, though he encamped against it with 8000 horse and 7000 foot, among which was reckoned a strong corps of Italians sent by Alfonso King of Naples, "men skilful," as the historian observes, "in the assaulting of walles and holdes." The defeat he suffered here from the Pasha Sebalias, wherein he lost nearly all his Neapolitan auxiliaries, was one of the severest by which his almost uninterrupted career of success was checked.*

After having surveyed the fortifications and enjoyed a view of the splendid scenery which it commands, we remounted our steeds at the door of the serai. I own I had no great zest for backing my Bucephalus, but among these people it is very adviseable to show no signs of fear. When we had thanked Hussein Bey for his civilities, and distributed the customary presents among his retainers, we took a walk through the city, which is large and contains thirteen Turkish mosques: from thence we strolled through the beautiful cemetery represented in the plate; beyond which are numerous and extensive gardens bordering on the great plain, which extends to Valona on the west, and nearly to Albassan and Kavaia on the north: we observed large droves of buffaloes cropping the herbage, or cooling themselves in the river, which is here about as broad as the Thames at Richmond.

Having returned home we dined sumptuously on old Usuff's turkey, and in the evening we received visits from

* Knolles's Hist. of the Turks, p. 370, &c. Berat was conquered by the great Sultan Amurath II., since whose time it has never been free from the Ottoman yoke.

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some respectable Greek gentlemen; they were the only persons we had met with who spoke with any degree of satisfaction at the government of Ali Pasha; but they contrasted it with the turbulent insecure state in which they existed, owing to his aggressions, during the latter years of Ibrahim's reign; beside which, the despot's views still turned northward, being very anxious to gain possession of the pashalic of Scutari: the advantages therefore of a good character in this part of the country were not to be overlooked. We retired to rest early, having a long journey to perform next day in a south-east direction up the valley of the Voïussa. I now gladly use the permission of my friend Mr. W. Jones, to take an extract from his journal through a different part of the country.

"Berat, Oct. 2nd, 1815.—The pasha having sent horses, according to his promise, we left Berat about nine o'clock in the morning for the ruins of Pollina, the ancient Apollonia. Our road lay in a direction nearly N. W. until we crossed the Apsus, when we entered into an immense plain covered with all kinds of cattle, buffaloes, horses, sheep, and goats. At about the middle of it we came again upon the Apsus, and followed its course till it suddenly turned to the N. W. As night was coming on, we took up our quarters in a wretched village called Shaelk; where our lodging, though the best in the place, was a miserable hut built of the stalks of Indian corn, twigs, and mud; three large openings in the wall serving for door, windows, and chimney. Early next morning we left these quarters and reached the monastery of Pyane in two hours, where an old monk undertook to be our guide to the ruins of Apollonia.

"A single Doric column forms the sole vestige of this once great and populous city, the theatre of Cæsar and Pompey's contests, the place of Augustus's early educa-

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tion. In every map which I have seen, it is placed too far from the sea, and too near to the Voïussa. From hence we pursued our course S. through the small village of Lievano, crossed the Voïussa in a ferry-boat, and proceeding along a fertile plain, arrived in the evening at Avlona, which contains about a thousand houses, almost all Turkish. From hence we crossed over the hills behind the town, and proceeding S. E. came to the river Susitza, which rises in the mountains of Kimarra, and is nearly as large as the Voïussa, into which it flows just below the village of Armen: from this place we proceeded nearly E. till we came near to the Voïussa, and then turning to the right, arrived at the village of Selenitza, about half a mile from which is the principal shaft of the great pitch mines, which bring in a considerable revenue to the vizir:* placed in the noose of a rope I descended down this shaft, which is about forty feet deep, and of recent formation. Advancing near two miles farther up the Voïussa, we came to a spot of ground devoid of all vegetation, from whence proceeded a strong sulphureous smell: my servant having struck a light I set fire to the gas that issued out of the crevices; when the flame spread rapidly in different directions, and burned with great fury at the time of our departure: a number of bees and reptiles were lying dead upon the ground near these cracks. Close to the spot are three oblong blocks of stone worked with great nicety, which had been turned up by people digging for sulphur: these probably are fragments of the ancient oracular Nymphæum.† From the village of Romous in this vici-

* This pitch seems to have been celebrated in ancient times.

Fusca vocetur
Nigrior ILLYRICA cui pice sanguis erit.
Ovid. de Arte Amandi ii. 657.

† Concerning this spot Strabo thus writes. Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν καλεῖταί τι Νυμφαῖον· πέτρα δ' ἐστὶ πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα· ὑπ' αὐτῇ δὲ κρήναι ῥέουσι

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nity, we proceeded through Carbonara to the ferry of Lundra, for the purpose of crossing the Voïussa and visiting the ruins at Gradista on its right bank. This ancient city surmounted the summit of a lofty hill, round which the outer wall may still be traced: there is a transverse one of later date formed of small stones and mortar; and remains also exist of a temple, where I found a long subterranean chamber, of an oblong shape, but narrow in proportion to its length: at no great distance from the southern wall of the city are evident traces of a theatre; the angular corners of the proscenium being visible, and the ground rising in a graduated manner.

"From Gradista I meant to have taken the direct road to Tepeleni; but my Albanian guard had lately taken a wife, and as he had not seen her for some time, I indulged him by passing the night in his house at the village of Fratari, on the mountains which lie to the left of the road: but the custom of the country did not permit me to view the lady who was the object of our visit.

"In the course of the evening several of his Albanian friends came to see him, in their shaggy capotes, with long pipes and white staves in their hands: some of the wildest looking fellows I ever beheld. A wandering dervish passed the night with us: he was above eighty years of age, wore a long white beard, and was extremely talkative, till about the hour of going to rest; when he assumed a sudden seriousness. I could not help feeling a degree of respect mingled with pity, when I saw this venerable old man go through his ablutions and prayers: he performed part in silence and part loud enough to be heard, repeating

χλιαροῦ ἀσφάλτου καιομένης ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς βώλου τῆς ἀσφαλτίτιδος. L. vii. p. 316. A more full description may be found in Dion Cassius, who gives an account of the oracle, l. xli. § 45. See also liv. xlii. 36. Plin. iii. 26. Van Dale de Orac. p. 287, &c.

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the name of Mohammed two or three times with great solemnity.

"From Fratari we did not arrive, till the second day, at Tepeleni, which the vizir was fortifying by deep trenches: as the plague was raging at Argyro-Castro, we deviated to the once beautiful city of Gardiki, now utterly overthrown by Ali, who has vowed that it shall never again become the habitation of man. From thence we continued our route between two high mountain ridges till we descended into the plain of Delvino; but here also the plague had broken out and the city was surrounded with troops; the sick being in a kind of barrack on some hills behind the town. Being told there was a palaio-castro at the village of Phenikè, about half an hour distant, I proceeded thither, and took up my quarters for the night. Soon after our arrival a large fire of wood was lighted at the foot of the hill, and a goat roasted whole to welcome me; whilst the whole village formed a circle round the fire and I seated myself amongst them. It was a beautiful moonlight and in spite of that unwelcome visiter the plague being so near, I could not help enjoying the singularity of the scene.

"Early next morning, having heard that there was a curious fountain on the eastern side of the hill, I ascended thither; but found nothing extraordinary, though the inhabitants assured me that it had a regular increase and diminution daily during the summer. From hence I mounted the hill by a steep path covered with fern and briars to an ancient wall, which highly gratified my curiosity; it being in a very perfect state for 60 yards in length, and 23 feet in height. The stones employed in its construction are immense: I measured one which was 7 feet long, 21 feet high, and 3 feet 2 inches broad; another was 9 feet 8 inches in length, by 7 feet 2 inches in breadth;

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and in one spot three stones alone form a piece of wall 13 feet in extent. These blocks are cut with great accuracy, and seem as firm as if they had been just put together: in the interior, the ground is almost on a level with the top of the wall. I entered by what appears to have been the principal gateway, and soon observed two octagonal columns about ten yards distant from each other, a fragment of a fluted pillar, and some other relics. The area is covered with briars and herbage, and exhibits marks of its having been occupied at two distinct periods since the ancient Hellenes. Thinking it probable that some inscription might be discovered, I procured assistance from the peasants in removing several blocks, and discovered one inscribed in large characters; *AMBPAKIΩTA*.

"Not far distant I found two more octagonal columns standing, like the others, erect, and about two feet in height, with various fragments, and foundations of edifices: there is also what I take to be the site of an immense theatre, facing the west, where the ground is seen to rise as by a succession of steps. The wall is most perfect on the eastern side of the hill along its brow; but it appears also at intervals on the western side: the whole circumference seems about two miles: in some parts the hill is scarcely 30 yards in breadth, and is intersected in its sides by deep hollows: at its north-west extremity (for it runs N.W. and S.E.) it is lower, and terminates almost in a point: towards the other end and on each side it is so steep as to make the ascent extremely difficult. The whole rises quite abruptly near the centre of the plain of Delvino; at the south-east end of which is the little village of Pheniké.*

* "This situation is assigned by Signore Psalida to the ancient oracle of Dodona; but the only features which appear to correspond with Strabo's account are the following:—1. The plain, very marshy, particularly towards

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"From hence I went along the banks of the Bistritza to its source; visiting in my way an old Greek church, dedicated to Saint Nicolo, about one hour from the village, which is evidently constructed with materials from the ruins: the interior is supported by granite columns; and in the walls are several blocks sculptured in relief, with well executed figures of a lion, an eagle, &c. Amongst them I found one with an inscription defaced, but terminated by the word *ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ*, "Farewell!" The source of the river is just below the village of Mourzina: half issues out of the rock in at least fifty streams of sweet and most transparent water: the other half proceeds from a pool, which appears very deep, as the surface is not ruffled by the least ebullition. From the rock, which appears to be of limestone, the water issues out in most

the south, where two rivers lose themselves in a considerable lake, viz. the Bistritza, which flows from Mourzina five hours south-east from Phenikė, and the Kalesproti which runs on the west side of the hill.—2. The hill itself, surrounded on all sides by magnificent mountains, except towards the south where the sea and the island of Corfu are seen above the low eminences.—3. The fountain on the east side of the hill.

"The epithets δυσχείμερος and αἰπύοτος, which Homer and Æschylus apply to Dodona, well accord with this situation: there are many trees, principally willows and poplars, on the plain; but I could discover no traces of the prophetic oaks."

From this accurate account of Mr. Jones, the classical reader will, I think, agree with me in what I have before observed regarding the fallibility of Signore Psalida's opinion regarding the site of Dodona. In fact, the ruins above mentioned belong to the ancient city of Phœnice, whose very name is still preserved in the modern village: it was the strongest and richest city of all Epirus; (πολὺ ἡ Φοινίκη διέφερε τότε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον πόλεων εὐδαιμονίᾳ· Polyb. l. ii.): it was betrayed by some Gaulish mercenaries to the Illyrians in the reign of Queen Teuta, a circumstance which Polybius says struck terror into the Grecian cities when they saw τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην ἅμα καὶ δυνατωτάτην πόλιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ παραλόγως οὕτως ἐξηνδραποδιζομένην· (l. ii.) from hence he takes occasion to blame the Epirots for relying on such a faithless crew as the Gauls, and hints at the danger of trusting an opulent city to the protection of mercenaries.

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places with great velocity, and forms a stream as large as the Avon at Bath.

"From hence, passing through Mourzina, we proceeded between two immense ridges, branching off from that which forms the western boundary of the great vale of Deropuli, whose scenery soon burst upon our view, exhibiting a prospect of unparalleled magnificence in its noble mountains and its numerous towns and villages. We passed across it to a village on its eastern side, but the inhabitants would not receive us when they heard we came from the neighbourhood of Delvino: we were obliged therefore to keep on our course; and as it was a fine moonlight night, and we were travelling under a Grecian sky, we scarcely regretted our disappointment. We rested at Pondicatis, and next day reached Zitza, where the best wine in Greece is made; and this was the time of vintage. All the wine is made in the fields, where the grapes are put into large casks and trod upon by men bare-footed, till the juice is quite expressed; it is then carried in goat-skins to the village, put into barrels, and left to ferment and settle: it is removed in this manner four or five times before it is put into the cask for drinking.

"In my road from Zitza I passed through the village of Protopapas, which some consider as the site of Dodona; but I could find no ruins. The approach to Ioannina from the north appeared to me much finer than that from the south, its grand seraglio, fortress, minarets, and cypress groves being seen from this quarter to great advantage. On my arrival, October 12th, I was informed that two English gentlemen were in the city, one of whom lay dangerously ill. I went immediately and found the sick person to be a Mr. King, chaplain to the Ionian forces at Corfu, from whom I experienced many civilities. Great alarms were expressed, for fear lest his dis-

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order might be the plague, and I was earnestly requested to leave the place; this, however, I could not consent to do, especially as I perceived Mr. King's illness to be a malaria fever, which he, as well as his servant, had caught at Prevesa. He was apparently about forty years of age, and possessed of a very strong and robust constitution; but he died in my arms on the 15th, and I buried him next evening in the cemetery of St. Nicolo, where I afterwards placed a stone, inscribed with his name and titles, at the head of his grave. The day before I quitted Ioannina I visited the vizir in company with his companion Captain Scriven. The chief subject of our conversation related to the unfortunate death of Mr. King, at which he appeared much affected; but whether this proceeded from humanity or not I will not pretend to say. The same day we also paid a visit to Salee Pasha, the vizir's youngest son, who had lately received two tails from the Porte and been created a pasha. He received us sitting like his father, and asked us several pertinent questions respecting our own country and our opinion of Albania."

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Fortified rock in the suburbs of Premeti—Turkish burial-ground and bridge over the Voïussa.

CHAPTER XIII.

April 6.—This morning we started on our return. For a short distance we ascended the fine valley of the Apsus, terminated afar off by the huge Tomour,* and then, turning to the right, proceeded in a southerly direction through a

* This mountain is called by Strabo Τόμαρος or Τμάρος; but Eustathius in Od. π. gives it an appellation much nearer its modern sound; Τόμουρος. It is often mentioned by the Byzantine historians, and seems to have had a strong citadel or fortress in its vicinity. Τίμωρον Φρουρίον τι καὶ αὐτὸ ἐσχύριον περὶ Βαλάγριτα φκίσμενον· (Cantacuz. Hist. p. 301.) If the Tomarus of Dodona be confined to this spot it will upset all the theories yet formed upon the subject: but as this latter place is always reckoned in Epirus, and Tomour is far beyond its limits, some other range of hills must have had this appellation: in fact the mountains of Kolonia and Zagori appear to be but branches of this enormous trunk.

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valley two hours in length, bounded by moderate hills covered with evergreens, but with few habitations. We then ascended higher ground, and had not only a noble prospect of the dark mountains of Kolonia, but a very fine retrospective view of Berat, its fortified citadel, and the gigantic Tomour. For three hours we proceeded over a general descent of country, through valleys and beds of torrents, and found signs of greater population: at the end of five hours we passed the large Turkish village of Tojar, on a mountain to the right, where about fifteen years before Ali and Ibrahim had fought several sanguinary battles: about two miles farther appeared a small fort built by the vizir upon the summit of a hill, below which stood a spacious han called the Han of Ali; we had passed another called the Han of Ibrahim nearly an hour before. For the next four hours the road was generally uninteresting, up and down hills and in the beds of torrents; only a few houses were scattered about, and each of those generally occupied an eminence, isolated for the sake of security: we crossed as many as thirty streams, and two of them near thirty times. At the end of these last four hours we arrived at a han, but so filthy and disgusting, that we determined to proceed to another about two hours distant. The latter part of this route lay through a lovely plain under a fine mountain on the right called Trebesheena, opposite to which we found the han destined for our resting place, in a very picturesque site.

Next morning we resumed our journey, for one hour, through a beautiful valley to Klissurra, which is situated on a tremendous precipice of Trebesheena, where the Voïussa pours its foaming waters though that great defile, the ancient "Stena Aoi," or "Fauces Antigoneæ."

The situation of this town is singular in the extreme. It lies at a considerable height up the bare and rocky moun-

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tain; beyond it appearing a large fortress, built by Ali, to curb the spirit of this district, upon the very edge of a precipice probably a thousand feet in depth. We rode up to the town, which contained about two hundred inhabited houses, which were certainly among the most miserable tenements we beheld in all our travels; and their occupants exhibited a frightful picture of misery. A few dirty rags served as an apology for clothing to the adults, and the children absolutely went stark naked; though a thick coating of dirt upon their bodies might almost be said to stand in the stead of garments: a large colony of gipsies still more wretched in appearance, if possible, were mingled with these inhabitants. In ascending towards the fortress we observed three or four hundred ruined habitations, which gave a still more desolate appearance to the view of this arid rock.* The castle is large, but not built for long duration; though artillery could with difficulty be brought to bear against it. Near the foundation of the principal entrance are several layers of Greek masonry, showing that this important post was not neglected by the ancient masters in the art of war. If a city ever existed in their time upon this spot, it was probably Antigonea. Before we entered the castle, we ventured, as near as safety allowed, to the giddy height upon which it stands; where, looking down, we beheld the Aous still chafing in its channel between two tremendous walls of rock, which scarcely leave room for the river and the narrow road which winds along its side.† The noise of the foaming

* A very extensive cemetery in the plain below Klissura, where a large Tekè or Turkish monastery was just erected, marks the former population of this place. The people are said to have emigrated about half a century ago to the mountains of Kolonia.

† Is inter montes quorum alterum Æropum, alterum Asnaum incolæ vocant, angusta valle fluit, iter exiguum super ripam præbens. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 5.

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torrent at this height is heard only in gentle murmurs. Beyond the Trebesheena, upon which Klissura is situated, another lofty mountain runs parallel to it from north to south called Mesgourani, both of which form one side of this contracted defile. The opposite heights are called Melchiovo, and are branches of the vast chain of Mertzika. From this advantageous position the Roman Consul Flaminius drove Philip King of Macedon by means of treachery, and thus gained an inlet into the interior of his territories. We were received by the governor, and conducted over this fortress, to which Ali frequently sent his state prisoners as to one of complete security. We observed several of these wretched victims of his tyranny or suspicion: one was a poor Greek of Lepanto, who had been seized in the dead of night, and hurried away to Ioannina, from whence, after having been detained in a noisome dungeon eighteen months, he was banished to this dreadful prison; and here he had remained two years without even knowing the crime for which he suffered: the poor wretch could attribute his misfortunes only to having procured a protection from the French ambassador at the Porte. Another prisoner was a young black eunuch, sent hither for having wounded one of the vizir's pages with a knife: this appeared to be a malicious urchin, and could scarcely be restrained by manual correction from his savage propensities.

Having satisfied our curiosity, we descended into the town to satisfy our appetites with some coarse calamboci bread and eggs, and then set forward again up the valley of Aous, taking the same road as that by which Philip fled from the Roman legions. At the outskirts of the town we met a poor dervish in ragged apparel, who beckoned me from the party and begged alms in a piteous tone: after I had satisfied his request, he whispered in my ear the

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following sentence: *Εἶναι ὁ Πασιὰ κακὸς ἄνθρωπος· χαλάζει τοὺς Τούρκους*·—"The vizir is a bad man, for he ruins the Turks." A curious character for a Turkish pasha in a district of Greece! but which we soon found to have been correctly given; for at Premeti, which is about five hours from Klissura, we crossed the Voïussa by a handsome bridge, under a gallows, on which a Turk of some distinction had been hanged a week before, for having shot a poor Greek in a tavern brawl.

Premeti is situated in a beautiful recess under some of the loftiest crags of Mertzika, which here rise perpendicularly from their bases, shooting their lofty pinnacles into the sky with all the varieties of Alpine scenery: the snow at this time lay deep on their summits, and is contained in cavities during the whole of the year: numerous wolves infest the district, against whose ravages the fierce race of Molossian dogs is still the great security. We found Antonietti with our luggage safely lodged in the house of an elderly widow lady, which, like all the other houses in this place, stands separate and distinct from its neighbours. After dinner our hostess came into the room with much ceremony, and having kissed our hands, presented us with some boiled eggs dyed in various colours; an offering very general amongst the Greeks in the season of Passion-week. For these lustral eggs there seems to be good classical authority.

> Et veniat quæ lustret anus lectumque locumque
> Præferat et tremula sulphur & ova manu.*

Next morning we paid a visit to the governor, who resided in a large serai above the town, which Salee Bey inhabited

* Ovid de Arte Am. ii. 329. See also Juvenal Sat. vi. 516.

> ——— nisi se centum lustraverit ovis.

Lucian also makes mention of the *ὠὸν ἐκ καθαρσίου*. Dial. Mort. i. § 1.

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before he was removed to Argyro-Castro. This building was fitted up with greater splendor than any we had seen, except that of Tepeleni; containing very fine baths and a beautiful kiosk, paved with marble, in the midst of which was a fountain: it was situated in a kind of paddock and extensive gardens, surrounded also by strong works; but no cannon were as yet mounted. The governor, attended by his guards, escorted us in our return to the city, the only curiosity of which is a large isolated rock* on the left bank of the river, apparently about sixty feet high, and three hundred in circuit, (see the vignette.) On the top of this appear the ruins of an ancient edifice; but though we were anxious to ascend and satisfy our curiosity, not a rope nor a ladder could be procured for this purpose: at length a young Albanian boy, about twelve years old, undertook to climb up the steep side with no assistance but his hands and feet; and this task he accomplished with apparent ease, by clinging to the rock, and supporting himself with a few roots and twigs that grew within the interstices. From his description the whole summit is surrounded by a dilapidated wall, in the interior of which is a ruined chapel, two small rooms, and a tank or cistern of water. It is in all probability a small fortress, built during the times of the Eastern Empire.

Having mounted our horses at this spot, and taken leave of our courteous guide, we advanced for about two hours up the left bank of the Voïussa, and then crossed it by a noble bridge of three arches, built, like many others over this torrent, during the times of the Eastern Empire, and ornamented with the Greek cross: we then came into

* Premeti is celebrated in the following Albanian proverb—"Premeti, jeineti, pach bouk, eshum oyce"—or "Premeti, l'inferno, poco pane, molt' acqua."

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some of the most magnificent scenery which nature can present to the traveller. The richness of vegetation in these concave valleys, covered with all kinds of beautiful shrubs and a most luxuriant verdure, was finely contrasted with the snowy ridges of their mountain barriers: sometimes the defiles became contracted, and the road closed up as it were by two walls, paining the eye to scan their inaccessible summits: at other times impending rocks and precipices on the one side served only to set off the fine curvilinear sweep of hills on the other, and for many miles we had an alternate succession of these grand natural theatres, the semicircular coilon being alternately on the right hand and on the left, while the impetuous Aous dashed from rock to rock as it were in a series of continual cascades. Here and there a picturesque bridge added a feature to these romantic scenes, a mountain cataract came foaming across the path, and villages appeared on craggy heights that seemed to defy every hand but his that wields the thunderbolt. Some of these were at this time deserted by their inhabitants, on account of the plague, which was spreading itself in the district, having been introduced by some wandering gipsies. In several instances we saw the people who had descended into the plains and left the sick in their villages: these were guarded to prevent communication, whilst the rest were encamped in tents and huts made of the boughs of trees.

After a ride of seven hours we approached Ostanitza; crossing at the distance of about two miles a considerable river called Sarandaporos, by a bridge of a single arch, so highly pitched, that we thought it prudent to descend from our steeds. This stream flows into the Voïussa, and near its junction forms with that river a beautiful peninsula, which perhaps may be the ancient Castra-Pyrrhi, at which Philip arrived in the first day's retreat from

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Flaminius, after his defeat in the straits of Klissura.* This peninsula is a fine eminence washed by both rivers, and on the summit are remains of what appear to be ancient fortifications. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the prospect down the valley of the Aous; though the fine rocky scenery above, clothed in rich wood, is scarcely inferior. The terraces of this ancient fortress were now covered with a turf as soft as silk, and enamelled with thousands of wild flowers.

Having next crossed the Voïussa we passed the ruin of an old Greek church half covered with ivy, and ascended the steep hill on which Ostanitza is situated; a poor town, scarcely containing three hundred houses; but the site is superb. It must once have been extremely populous and large, for I counted near twenty churches which appear to have been ruined and deserted for some centuries. We found from the inhabitants much more incivility than we had hitherto experienced, and could scarcely procure a lodging, as they pretended that the codgià-bashee was absent: so that after riding about for near half an hour, we took shelter in a miserable hut some degrees worse than an Irish cabin. We ascended to our loft by a broken ladder, and Mr. Parker nearly broke his leg by slipping through its decayed floor into the stable below: it was with the utmost difficulty we could find two sound places to spread out our beds. Other travellers have complained of similar ill usage in this place: Mr. Jones was refused admittance altogether, and learnt that four soldiers belonging to the vizir had been murdered but a few days

* Rex primo die ad Castra Pyrrhi pervenit; locus, quem ita vocant, est in Triphylia terræ Melotidis; inde postero die (ingens iter agminis, sed metus urgebat) in Montem Lingon perexit: ipsi montes Epiri sunt, interjecti Macedoniæ Thessaliæque. Latus quod vergit in Thessaliam, oriens spectat; septentrio à Macedonia objicitur. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13.

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before his arrival. Yet who can wonder at this who peruses the following extract from that gentleman's journal on this very tour? "I stopped for the night at the village of Peetshall about three hours distant from Ioannina. In the hut destined for my lodging was a poor woman dangerously ill of a malaria fever: my guide immediately on our entrance, ordered her to get out of bed and leave the cottage for our accommodation; and, if I had not interfered, the wretched creature would have been obliged instantly to obey. But when I arose in the morning I found that my sick hostess had actually been ejected in spite of my remonstrances! Such is the manner in which the unfortunate Greeks are treated by their Mussulman rulers."

As there was nothing here to tempt our stay, we started by sun-rise next morning and proceeded through a very picturesque and beautiful country into the great plain of Konitza, a city which lies about four hours north-east of Ostanitza. It is situated on the roots of a magnificent crag, which forms one side of a defile, through which a foaming torrent called Voidomati, or the "ox-eye," pours its tribute into the Voïussa. The mountains on the other side this chasm are on a still grander scale, and form a noble curvature, similar to the exterior of an enormous Greek theatre: this resemblance at a distance is remarkably striking, and constantly attracted our attention during yesterday's ride.*

Konitza stands at the north-east end of its large triangular plain, being beautifully situated on the declivity of a mountain whose summit is crowned with the remains of a ruined castle: to the south of this acropolis is a deep

* Pliny, speaking of the great mountains between Thessaly and those interposed between it and Epirus, says they are all curved like a theatre! "Omnes theatrali modo inflexi." Lib. iv. c. 8.

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chasm amidst rocks which scarcely yield even to that of Klissura in the dark terrors of the abyss: this defile is bounded on the other side by that noble mountain range, curved in a theatroidal form, which had so strongly attracted our attention yesterday. Its modern name is Papingo; but it is difficult to determine the ancient appellation: perhaps it may be that Mount Lingon over which, according to Livy, Philip retreated into Thessaly from the Roman consul. The Macedonian monarch is much blamed by the historian for this precipitation, since, had he opposed but a few hundred men to the pursuing enemy, amid the terrific defiles of these mountainous regions, he might not only have prevented his advance, but probably annihilated the greatest part of his army.

Konitza was one of the best specimens of an Albanian city that we saw: its houses stood for the most part separate, and the courts being planted with trees, gave a beautiful effect to its external aspect.* The bazar was particularly neat, and the habitations in general extremely good, being built of stone, with handsome shelving roofs. We rode at once up to the grand serai, and paid our respects to its Albanian governor, a fine man, in a green old age. We found him at his dinner-table with a Turkish dervish and six other Albanian friends, clothed in their sheep-skins, and eating a thick rice soup with wooden spoons. They received us very cordially, and were so urgent with us to dip into their mess, that common politeness forced us to gulp down a few spoonfuls of this horrid pottage, which had almost the same effect upon us as the

* It contained five thousand inhabitants, about two-thirds of whom were Mahometans. It is a bishopric, but the bishop takes his title from Vellas, whose ruins are seen near the plain of Kalibachi, as that of Argyro-Castro does from Drinopolis.

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silly-kickaby had upon Palate. "At this place," says Mr. Jones in his journal, "my host complained much of the oppressive government of Ali, to whom he paid annually two thousand piastres: moreover he lived in perpetual fear of having his only daughter, a most beautiful girl of seventeen, carried off to adorn the harem and gratify the lust of of the vizir." As we expressed a desire to visit the ruins of the old fortress, the agà sent three of his guards to conduct us up the hill; which we ascended by a winding path, and as we went along picked up many of those beautiful quartz crystals, for which this mountain is celebrated: they are found in great abundance after heavy rains, detached from the matrix, and as they lie mixed with the gravelly particles, are easily distinguished by their brilliancy. "They are highly diaphanous and perfect," (I here copy the words of Dr. E. D. Clarke,) "surpassing the famous Alençon diamonds in splendor, and resembling them in form."

Upon a rocky height, near the summit of the mountain, we observed an ancient Greek church, dedi ated to St. Barbara; but the ruined fortress itself contains nothing worthy of observation: it is probably one of those with which Justinian covered the face of this country against the Huns and Sclavonic tribes which in his days began to ravage the empire; but neither here nor in the town itself could we discover the least vestige of any Hellenic building: we were however amply recompensed for the trouble of ascent by the splendid panoramic view.

At the foot of the hill we mounted our horses, and crossed the deep ravine by a rudely constructed wooden bridge thrown over the torrent. In less than three hours we recrossed the Voïussa, and proceeding S. W., arrived late in the evening at Mavro-Vouni, or the Black Mountain, an appellation which is derived from the

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nature of its soil: we slept at a little village on its summit, but started again next morning before the sun; when we were gratified by a lovely moonlight, while the songs of nightingales resounded charmingly in the silence of the night. After the lapse of one hour we passed between two small lakes, and soon arrived at the fine plain of Kalibachi, interspersed with numerous villages. At about one mile from the lake of Ioannina a noble prospect of that fine expanse of water comes into view; where there is a beautiful fountain beneath a neat cupola, containing seats for the accommodation of travellers: there we opened our wallets, and made an excellent breakfast, for which the keen air of the mountains had given us an appetite. We sat a considerable time after our meal to enjoy the beauty of the scenery, and then descended to the upper lake, whose eastern side we skirted till we arrived at a han which was the station of the ferry-boats. Here, as we crossed the water, we saw, under its transparent surface, remains of many pilasters that once supported a causeway by which a passage was effected on foot across the lake: we reached the opposite bank just below the hill of Dodona, and having left the baggage to proceed leisurely, we put our horses into a gallop and arrived at Ioannina before our usual time of breakfast.

It was Easter Sunday, and we observed the Greeks in the streets greeting each other with the holy kiss and customary salutation of *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*, or "Christ is risen." The passion of our Saviour being dramatised in the Greek as well as in the Latin church, a solemn piece of mummery is on this day performed; when a wooden image, representing Christ's body, which had been buried in a kind of sepulchre on the preceding Good Friday with mournful lamentations, is now raised up and shown by the papas to the people, who view it with every demonstration of joy,

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and salute it with long continued exclamations of, *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη—εἶναι ἀλήθινον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνέστη.* "Christ is risen—it is true that Christ is risen."

Every Greek family that can afford it eats the paschal lamb; and, as an old author has observed,* "the severity of their Lent is more easily supported by the expected enjoyment of the following festival, at which time they run into such excesses of mirth and riot, agreeable to the light and vain humour of the people, that they seem to be avenged of their late sobriety, and to make compensation to the devil for their late temperance and mortification towards God." Indeed one would suppose that the Greek church endeavoured either to push the epicurean system to the utmost by affording the highest luxury of frequent contrast, or to render life a scene of mortification by supporting the human frame during a small part of the year, that it may just be enabled to endure penance all the rest: for more than half the year is dedicated to rigorous abstinence. There are four grand fasts;† besides numerous others of minor consequence, as well as every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year. In most of these seasons not only is meat forbidden, but fish, butter, eggs, and oil: nothing but vegetables and a little shell-fish are allowed, and not always the latter. The priests are very zealous for the rigid observance of such austerities, and launch forth the thunders of excommunication against vile offenders who presume to slight them: indeed the crime of eating flesh in Lent is that against which the highest price of absolution is fixed; adultery and murder

* Paul Ricaut's Present State of the Greek Church, p. 136.

† That of Lent; that of the Holy Apostles, which begins the week after Whitsuntide; that of the Panaghia, preparatory to the great festival of the Assumption; and that of the birth of Christ, which continues forty days before Christmas.

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may be compounded for at a much lower rate. "In the observation of these fasts," says the author above quoted, "they are so superstitiously strict, that they hold no case of necessity may or can claim a dispensation; and that the patriarch hath not power and authority sufficient to give a licence to eat flesh where the church hath commanded abstinence. For suppose a person sick to death, who with broth made of flesh, or with an egg, may be recovered to life, they say it were better he should die, than eat and sin. Howsoever perhaps the Ghostly Father will be so far concerned in the other's health, as to advise the sick penitent in such cases to eat flesh, and afterwards confessing the sin, he promises to grant absolution." Times have been when this absolving power was a great source of gain; but times are now altered, and few of those who can afford to pay for absolution, think they stand in need of it: the women are the only part of the community who feast their immortal souls and starve their mortal bodies to the ruin of their constitutions and the torment of their lives. How far such a system of deprivation may tend to the debasement of their progeny and deterioration of the species, let better physiologists than myself determine: but it is curious to consider the different effects of superstition in different ages and countries; for Sismondi observes that the Emperor Henry III. hanged many persons as Manichæans, because from their pale complexion it was thought they abstained from *animal food.* At a trial of their heresy they were commanded to kill some chickens; but refusing to commit so foul a murder, they were instantly hanged.

After the restorative process of the bath, we paid a visit to Ali at Litaritza. We thought there was an alteration in his manner of receiving us, and we attributed this to the failure of his designs upon Parga, in which he no doubt

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expected British co-operation. While we sat in the room, Mouchtar Pasha was announced, who came to consult the vizir upon affairs of state; but as their conversation was in the Turkish language, our presence was no obstacle: it lasted about twenty minutes, during which time Mouchtar stood at a little distance from his father, with his hands resting on his gold-mounted pistols; nor would he have presumed to take a seat, or been asked to do so, had the conference lasted as many hours: such is the filial reverence expected, and paid to parental authority in Turkey! Ali afterwards conversed with us about our expedition, and expressed his satisfaction that we had been at Tepeleni: he showed us a few brass coins which had been dug up at Apollonia, but they were all Roman and devoid of interest. We soon took our leave and adjourned to the serai of Mouchtar Pasha, who was anxious to hear news of his son as well as our opinion of Berat: he told us a long story respecting the palaio-castro at Jaresi near Tepeleni, saying that it belonged to a daughter of King Pyrrhus, having been given as her dowry in marriage to an Illyrian prince: where he found this legend I am unable to tell. We next adjourned to eat the paschal lamb with our friend M. Pouqueville, and spent an agreeable day in comparing notes respecting what we had seen and heard during our Albanian excursion. The following morning was dedicated to paying and receiving visits from our Greek acquaintance, and procuring cash for our bills; in which latter negotiation we had no difficulty, for it happened to be the time when Mouchtar received his revenue, and as he was obliged to forward money to Constantinople, he found our bills a great accommodation. As we required gold, for convenience in travelling, we were obliged to pay a premium for it The gold coin most esteemed in Turkey is the Venetian sequin, executed with as little taste as the ancient Athe-

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nian tetradrachm ;* but valued like it on account of its purity.† Gold always fetches a premium in the south of Europe, but especially in Turkey, where the despotic nature of its government imposes upon its people the necessity of hoarding: moreover the silver coin is extremely debased, and is now little better than plated copper, which becomes very apparent after the parà has been carried a week in the pocket. Every piece both gold and silver, is stamped with sentences from the Koran; for the Turks carry their prejudices against image-worship so far, that they will not allow even their favourite idol to be figured with the resemblance of man or beast. No laws being established respecting usury, the rate of interest is very fluctuating; varying generally from ten to thirty per cent ;‡ but when the rate is very exorbitant the security is proportionably slight: lenders prefer the safe, or the speculating plan, according as their prudence or cupidity preponderates. Ali employed a curious method of gaining a per-centage on money. When the time approached for paying his troops or otherwise disposing of large sums, he bought up the gold coin at the rate which it bears in Constantinople, paid it out at the high price to which this very circumstance advanced it, and then, when his own

* For a very ingenious and interesting dissertation upon Athenian coinage by Lord Aberdeen, see Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 425.

† The elementary or lowest degree of Turkish money is the asper, of which three equal one parà: forty paràs are equal to one piastre, and the piastre equal to a French franc. There are also pieces of twenty, sixty, eighty, and one hundred paràs, which last is the largest silver coin. The Ottoman gold coins are rare: the largest are equal to five piastres and the smallest to half that sum.

‡ The rate of usury was sometimes very high among the ancients. In "the Feast" of Lucian, Zenothemis is railed at by Cleodemus for his avarice in taking four per cent. per month, or forty-eight per annum.

οὐδ' ἐπὶ τέτταροι δραχμαῖς δανείζω. § 32.

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payment had by a plentiful circulation reduced its value again, he ordered all his revenues and other dues to be paid in gold.

Next day we resumed our visits, and found our old friend the Archon of Livadia, who had arrived during our absence. He was lodged with three or four companions in a small and smoky tenement, a miserable contrast to the elegant mansion wherein we had visited him at his native place. His residence at Ioannina was the result of Ali's policy, who obliged the primates and other officers of Greek cities in his dominions to spend a portion of the year in the capital. This circumstance, together with the quartering of his troops upon the city, had more than quadrupled the expenses of house-rent, board, and lodging, since his accession to the pashalic. We brought Signore Logotheti home to dine with us, and were happy in this and other opportunities of returning the civilities which we had received from him.

April 13.—This morning I visited the island with Nicolo, for the purpose of searching the monasteries for manuscripts. In this investigation however we were disappointed: not a book beyond those necessary for the service of the church, a few folios of miracles or lives of saints; not a manuscript, except a copy of the psalter and a collection of hymns. We searched diligently six convents: the seventh was prohibited to us; being at this time the prison of two unfortunate sons of Mustafà Pasha, and the cells of the monks occupied by Albanian soldiers: as all these *religious houses* have at various times undergone a similar conversion, the reader will not be surprised at the failure of our enterprise. As we returned home across the lake about noon, our ears caught the tinkling sound of distant music, and on looking to the quarter whence it proceeded, we observed two monoxyla

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rowing towards us very swiftly: presently we heard our names called out in a loud harsh tone, and then discovered how the boats were freighted. In the first was Mouchtar Pasha with his chief physician for a companion; the second, loaded with eatables, carried his major-domo, his cook, and a household fiddler, who like the ancient bard, that invariable appendage to the feast,* stretched his lungs to tortured catgut, and celebrated in wild music the deeds of Ali and his valiant sons. Mouchtar was in high spirits, but all his boisterous exclamations could not discompose a muscle in the face of this modern Phemius, or disarrange a note of his inharmonious strains. The pasha insisted upon our returning to dine with him on the island; an invitation which needed not a repetition either to Nicolo or myself.

At landing we were met by a concourse of people who accompanied us to a neat well-furnished house, where a considerable number both of men and women staid in the room laughing and joking with the pasha exactly as if they had been his equals. Indeed the manners of the prince appeared but little superior to those of his retainers, whilst his coarse and boisterous mirth seemed admirably adapted to the meridian of their capacities. In the mean time the cook and people of the house were busily employed in heating and preparing the viands, and in a short time about twenty as neat and piquant dishes were set before us in regular succession as ever graced a pasha's table. Mouchtar just took off the edge of his appetite with four hard eggs and a proper quantity of bread! and at dinner when I affirm that he eat as much as two English ploughmen I believe I am quite within

* Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ τι φημὶ τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
Ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ, καπότητος ἀπούσης,
Δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ.

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the line of truth. Our party consisted of the pasha and his physician, Signore Nicolo and myself; and we dispatched the meal in little less than one hour and a half. Two or three women stood in the room nearly all this time, amongst whom Mouchtar flung coarse jokes between the courses: he also rallied poor Nicolo, asking him whether this was not better fare than what he met with at Rustschuk? Nicolo shook his head mournfully at the mention of that dire abode, where, during a long siege, he had frequently been glad to make one meal a-day, though that was upon horse-flesh, and had rarely stirred out of a subterranean cavern which he digged for himself as a defence against the shells: the recollection of these privations however did not diminish his appetite, which seemed rather inclined towards the compensatory system of things: we drank the best wine which the country produces, though it cannot boast of many positive good qualities. When an hour had elapsed after dinner, we left Mouchtar to enjoy his siesta, while we perambulated this beautiful little island and admired the charming scenery which its whole circuit displays. I could not help making a remark upon the voracity of the grandee we had just left, to his physician, and requested to know how it was possible for a person to indulge such an inordinate appetite with impunity. The doctor replied that he was as much astonished as I was; "but *those Turks*, they are used to it." After our walk we took a pipe and some coffee, and as Mouchtar Pasha intended to sleep on the island for the purpose of shooting early next morning, we returned in the cool of the evening to the city. Next day it being understood that I had been to search for manuscripts, a person brought for sale an unedited treatise upon astronomy by Meletius the Archbishop of Athens: it consisted of about four hun-

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dred pages in quarto, and the figures as well as the tex were executed with remarkable neatness; but I had had too much experience of this worthy prelate's blunders upon earth in his unparalleled geography, to fancy that he would be found more accurate in his delineation of the heavens. I therefore left this treasure in the possession of its proprietor.

Scarcely a week had elapsed since our return, when the whole city was thrown into alarm on our account. This happened while we were spending an evening accidentally with M. Pouqueville, when the vizir suddenly sent for us to his serai: as we were not found at home, and no one knew where we had gone, at least a score of kaivasis and chaoushes, with gold and silver sticks, were dispatched over the town and environs to find us. Rumour stretched out her wings, and opened all her mouths upon the occasion, and amidst a thousand reports afloat, the prevalent one was that the *buldrun* was to be our habitation, in revenge for the vizir's disappointed ambition at Parga. Even M. Pouqueville himself was infected with the alarm, and with a characteristic trait of generosity, offered us the asylum of his consular dwelling, which he assured us Ali dare not violate.

However, neither Mr. Parker nor myself felt any alarm, but followed the chaoushes with great tranquillity through the streets to Litaritza; where we found the vizir in high spirits, and his reception of us more cordial than any we had before received. We were his dear friends, the natives of a country which he entirely loved: coffee, sweetmeats, and pipes, were brought to us by wholesale, and the finest arms in the Albanian room taken down for our inspection. The grand secret of all this soon came out: he had just received notice that his frigate, which he had sent to Malta for the purpose of being rigged, copper-

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bottomed, mounted with guns, and supplied with stores, had arrived in the harbour of Prevesa, and the good humour now exhibited seemed as if it was occasioned by this sop thrown to the Epirotic Cerberus. A list of all the articles furnished from the British arsenals had been forwarded by the port-admiral; but that important document, being written in English, had put all the scholars of the serai to their wits end, though many of them before this had boasted not a little of their attainments in our language. When all had tried and failed, Ali bethought himself of our assistance, and for this purpose sent his chaoushes to escort us to the seraglio.

The papers being put into our hands, we adjourned to the little justice-parlour in the court; and with the help of Signore Colovo transferred their meaning into Romaic, through the medium of Italian, though in many instances we were sadly puzzled by the nautical terms for various unknown instruments: by the help however of blanks, and a few good guesses, we made out a tolerable translation, after three hours spent in the labour.

Next morning, Mr. Parker feeling indisposed, I waited alone upon the vizir, to know if he was satisfied with our performance, and if we could render him any further assistance. I found him in a room very magnificently furnished, and according to his common custom, smoking the houka. He appeared much elated by his acquisition, thanked me in a courteous manner for the trouble we had taken, and expressed his intention of going immediately to Salagora to review his fleet. He then entered into conversation with me respecting our late tour, asked many questions respecting my opinion of the country, and of his son Salee, and appeared pleased with the answers which I gave him respecting the latter: he asked also if we had discovered any silver mines in his country; but I assured

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him that neither my friend nor myself had studied mineralogy: he said he thought there were some in the neighbourhood of Tepeleni, and many persons had told him so. Who these could be I am unable to conjecture; but no one could have made such a discovery known to him without condemning hundreds of his subjects to perpetual imprisonment in the noxious bowels of the earth. When we arrived at the neighbourhood of Tepeleni, I expected he would have touched upon the massacre of Gardiki: but in this I was disappointed; for he was silent upon that subject, and I did not dare to introduce it. He then requested some information respecting the people who in ancient times possessed the districts over which he had extended his dominion: at the same time he paid a handsome compliment to English travellers, for the knowledge they acquired upon such subjects. With a much more limited range of information than the vizir gave me credit for, and still having to struggle with difficulties in the language that formed the medium of communication, I endeavoured to satisfy his curiosity by giving him a succinct account of the early settlers in these regions, of their colonization by the Greeks, and their subjection to the Romans. He listened with great attention and apparent interest, but made me dwell particularly upon the exploits of Pyrrhus, of whose character he never before had any distinct notion: he inquired with a certain air of mistrust about the elephants which that monarch employed in his military operations, and asked, with a laugh, whether I thought elephants would be of any use against his palikars: to this I answered, that the mode of warfare was entirely altered since the days of Pyrrhus, owing to the invention of fire-arms; but that even now those animals were employed in great numbers by our military men in the East Indies. We then passed on to the Roman con-

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querors, and he seemed not a little elated when I told him that the empire of the world had been twice contested within the limits of his dominions, once by land on the Pharsalian plains, and once by sea in the Gulf of Actium: he said he had heard that the palaio-castro, near Prevesa, was the record of a great victory, but did not know before that it was one of such consequence.

My tobacco being now consumed, as I was afraid of intruding upon the vizir's time, I made a motion to depart; but he requested me to remain, and ordered one of his pages to bring another pipe. In the mean time he turned the conversation upon Great Britain; but his inquiries tended more to the satisfaction of curiosity on trifling subjects, than to the acquisition of knowledge regarding those of greater interest; for instance, he asked me if King George could cut off a subject's head, and seemed quite astounded when I assured him that he had no more power than the subject had to cut off his, unless the latter had forfeited his life to the law; and he laughed outright when I told him that a member of the royal family or the king himself might be sued in a court of justice. He then asked me how the king procured his revenue; and when I answered, from the voluntary imposts of his people, he shook his head, as if he thought he should starve if he had to depend upon so precarious an income. Amongst other topics, of which it was impossible to remember half, he asked me what induced my countrymen to undergo so many hardships and to run so many dangers by land and sea for the sake of visiting countries which were devoid of almost all the comforts of life. In reply I endeavoured to give him some idea of our mode of education, and that general cultivation of Greek literature which is apt so strongly to influence the imagination and generate enthusiasm; which impels us to visit the land that nur-

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tured and matured such prodigies of talent, and to contemplate scenes where so many important historical events took place. The vizir mused for a short time upon what I observed, and then said, that he had not himself had the advantage of education. I confess my dissimulation; but I could not help replying that I thought he had made a superior use of his faculties in the study of mankind; that in England his character stood higher on the score of talent, than if he had been dignified with the title of a philosopher; and that the report of his exploits had drawn us to Ioannina in preference to the great capital of the Ottoman empire. The compliment evidently pleased him; for his eyes brightened and his face assumed a peculiar expression of good humour. I took this opportunity of turning the discourse upon his own warlike achievements, and he related to me several particulars which I have interwoven into the memoir of his life: he seemed to take a pleasure in dwelling upon the early incidents of his eventful history, which probably arose from the satisfaction he received at looking down, from the height of security, upon those periods when he was involved in perils and had scarcely a place where to lay his head. I longed to put a few political questions to him relative to some more recent occurrences; but every oblique attempt was eluded, and direct inquiries were out of the question.

My second pipe was now finished, and when I arose to go Ali no longer detained me: he said he hoped we should not leave Ioannina before his return from Salagora, for I had informed him, that, the winter being past and travelling practicable, it was our intention no longer to obtrude ourselves upon his hospitality. Thus ended the longest and most interesting conversation I ever held with this extraordinary character: I took down as many items of it as I

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could recollect immediately on my arrival at home, but regret that my memory did not serve me to recall half his observations.

About this time we had a sudden change of weather, and winter seemed again anxious to resume his sway; snow appeared on the summits of the mountains, and for several days the thermometer stood at 46° of Fahrenheit. This melancholy aspect of nature however was transient, and the Grecian sky soon resumed those brilliant tints and that harmonious colouring which during greatest part of the year add such a charm to the beauty of its scenery.

—— Οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, οὔτέ ποτ' ὄμβρῳ
Δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη
ΠΕΠΤΑΤΑΙ ΑΝΝΕΦΕΛΟΣ, ΛΕΥΚΗ Δ' ΕΠΙΔΕΔΡΟΜΕΝ ΑΙΓΛΗ.

During this short gloom I occupied myself in taking extracts from certain documents relating to Albania and its capital, which were kindly submitted to my inspection by several persons of our acquaintance: we afterwards resumed our excursions, either alone, or in the company of friends, to the beautiful monasteries on the borders of the lake, taking provisions with us, and spending the day amidst their shady recesses. The people of Ioannina are very partial to such expeditions, and at many of the convents which we passed were seen large family parties of men, women, and children, reclining under the shelving porticos, enjoying the luxuries of the table, and listening to the discordant tones of a violin or mandoline, or accompanying the instrument in loud strains of nasal melody. These scenes brought strongly to our imagination the picture of ancient times, when the joys of life appeared to centre in similar amusements.

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Ὡς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
Ἥμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ·
Ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος κατέδυ, καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθεν,
Οἱ μὲν κοιμήσαντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα.*

Od. κ. 476.

It is to be expected that the habits, manners, and customs of a people will always bear a certain resemblance to each other in the early stages of their social existence and in their decline; that is, before refinement, which tends greatly to confound all peculiarities, is far advanced, and when it is almost extinguished. The amusements indeed which engage the minds of the modern Greeks are scarcely exceeded in simplicity by those of the heroic ages. The reader will however be astonished to learn, as I was myself to hear, that since our departure, theatrical exhibitions were displayed at Ioannina under the patronage of the vizir; a temporary theatre being erected, and the whole corps de ballet imported from Corfu: such a scene, I will venture to say, was never exhibited in a Mahometan city since the era of the Hegira. The occasion of all these festivities was the marriage of our young friend Mahmet Pasha to the daughter of a rich bey of Larissa, at which his father Vely was present.

May 4.—This morning we observed a bustle in Ioannina and a great number of monoxyla skimming over the lake. Upon inquiry we found that a grand festival was to be held on the morrow at the convent of St. George situated near the summit of Mitzikeli: on the festival of our national Saint it would have been very unpatriotic in us to have been absent; so having sent Antonietti forward with our beds and provisions, we embarked about noon in a caique, with Nicolo for a companion, passed over the lake,

* Such was even supposed to be the chief amusement of their gods.—See Od. A. in fin.

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and mounted our asses, of which great numbers were ready for hire at the other side: the ascent occupied about two hours, and was sufficiently amusing from the ludicrous scenes exhibited amongst the various parties through the obstinacy of their beasts. The hegumenos with several of his caloyers met us at the gates of the convent, which stands in a rocky recess, probably two thousand feet above the level of the lake, and immediately under the craggy summits of the mountain, where the snow lay at this time in deep ridges. The best room was allotted for our reception, and the superior did us the honour to sit at table, though his laws did not allow him to partake of our fare: he exulted much when he learned that his tutelary saint was the guardian of our native island, and assured us there was not a better or a more powerful one in the calendar. In the evening we sat in the balcony and amused ourselves in seeing the pilgrims arrive, who deposited their stores in the court-yard, and were accommodated in a long range of low rooms on the north side of the area; the apartments of the monks occupy that on the south; and between them on the eastern side stands the chapel. Fires were lighted in the court to dress the victuals, round which the different parties sat feasting, and singing to their discordant instruments: in some places various feats of strength were exhibited; in others the Romaika was danced; groups of women and children were seen scattered about the mountain, and the whole scene was full of interest and animation. Here the Greek character showed itself in its more light and airy cast, while the poor people, raised for a time above the reach of tyranny and forgetting their miseries, gave way to their feelings and indulged in all their native vivacity. At night a lovely moon, which was now in the full, shed her silvery light upon the surrounding scenery, and her rays, which were reflected in the lake

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below, rendered Ioannina with all the villages and hills around its plain distinctly visible. We adjourned from the convent to the edge of a noble precipice, where the mountain rises almost perpendicularly from the water's edge: upon its top Antonietti had pitched our tent in the centre of a large circular threshing-floor (the εὐτρόχαλος ἀλωὴ) where the honest caloyers tread out their corn by means of horses and oxen. Here we sat to enjoy the luxury of a pipe and to contemplate the beautiful scene before us, whilst the night breeze threw its murmurs over the surrounding rocks, and the sounds of distant merriment in the court of the convent broke upon our ears through the general silence. The moon in these delightful climates seems almost to emulate the solar orb in brilliancy; and while I viewed her beams playing upon the mirror of the water, throwing into light and shade all the rocks and promontories of the lake, and bringing into full view the fine wavy undulation of Mount Olitzika, I felt that the mighty bard, the glory of Greece and of the human race, must have painted from nature that noble scene, whose beauties it is scarcely possible to transfuse into any foreign dialect.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heaven's clear azure spreads her sacred light;
When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole,
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
And tip with silver ev'ry mountain's head;
Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies:
The conscious swains rejoicing in the sight
Eye the blue vault and bless the useful light.

Il. viii. Pope's Transl.

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As the time approached for retiring to rest we returned to the convent, but before we went to bed, were induced by the extraordinary beauty of the prospect to stand for a few minutes in the balcony. There we perceived our kaivasi stretched upon his mat, his head resting upon a hard pillow, and his upper garment taken off and thrown over him; for the custom is very general in modern, as it was in ancient times, to sleep under the open portico: (ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἐριδούπῳ, Od. γ. 399.) Mr. Parker, who was in his night-cap and bed-gown, went up to Mustafà, and gently awoke him: the sleeper just cast his eyes upon him and turned himself on his pillow with a groan: Mr. Parker then awoke him again, and again Mustafà turned himself and uttered a still deeper groan: as he slept with his ataghan and pistols in his belt, I cautioned my friend against interfering any farther with his rest, and we went to bed. Next day however he appeared unusually dull and melancholy, and continued so for almost a week; when Antonietti observing the change, extracted the secret by dint of intreaties, and learned to his great horror that Mustafà had seen a spectre at the convent; the ghost of the very Gardikiote whom he had cut down with his ataghan at the han of Valiarè. As soon as I knew this I immediately explained the whole circumstance to the poor fellow, and made some excuse for awaking him: he appeared satisfied with the explanation, but said it was not the first time he had seen that fellow, that κεραταὶς of a Gardikiote; and he informed Antonietti that nothing should ever induce him to pay another visit to the convent of St. George.

Next morning I arose very early and joined the caloyers in chapel at their orisons; which attention pleased the good fathers, and they sang in their best style: yet how much did their mummeries diminish the effect of

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those sensations which the act of adoring the beneficent Author of the universe upon this lofty pinnacle of his creation, was calculated to inspire! After service, the hegumenos accompanied me to the precipice where our tent was fixed; and there we enjoyed the view of Ioannina, with its mountain scenery, illuminated by the rising sun, which had already absorbed the tints of morning in one broad blaze of brilliant light. How animated does the face of nature appear at this time, when "light awakes the world;"

> When mighty nature bounds as from her birth;
> The sun is in the heavens, and life on earth;
> Flowers in the valley, splendor in the beam,
> Health on the gale, and freshness in the stream.

The hegumenos, out of compliment to his English guests, had brought with him from the convent library an old Romaic history, containing the life of Saint George. Seated in the tent he put on his spectacles, opened this repository, and edified me for nearly two hours with the miraculous feats of that great rival of the Pythian Apollo. I then heard of his undaunted conduct before the Emperor Diocletian in reproving idolatry, of his being struck through the body with a lance by the executioner without injury to the said body, of his walking bare-footed upon planks studded with nails, as if they had been boiled peas, of his remaining unhurt amidst flames, and of his destroying that fiery dragon on the banks of the Euphrates, which has rendered his name so illustrious throughout the world. The nasal tones of the hegumenos, aided by my early rising, had lulled me into a gentle slumber, when Mr. Parker and Nicolo arrived, with Antionetti carrying provision for breakfast; which put a stop to the worthy monk's recitation. Having made this early meal in one

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of the most superb sites the world can afford, we took a range over the summit of the mountain, and returned to the monastery for grand mass, at which time we added our mites, to those of the other pilgrims, in support of this religious establishment.

The Greek monks or caloyers have only one order, which is that of Saint Basil. Their habit is a long cassock of coarse cloth girt round with a belt, a felt or woollen cap, and a black cowl. Their government is, or is intended to be very austere, as they are enjoined chastity, obedience, and abstinence from flesh, during the whole of their lives: bread and fruit is their chief food during greatest part of the year, and at their feasts only do they eat oil, eggs, or fish. Most part of their time is occupied in their choirs, in rehearsing the psalter, in singing hymns in honour of the Virgin and their patron saints, and in making their bows, or μετάνοιαι as they are called, which, during the great fasts, every caloyer is obliged to repeat three hundred times in the twenty-four hours: as for the great Lent before Easter, they begin it with three days of absolute fasting, not even indulging themselves in the luxuries of bread and water, and on the eves or vigils of feasts, the whole night is nearly taken up in the ceremonies of devotion: according to their rule, they ought to spend the greatest part of every other night within their cells in reading homilies and the lives of saints. Yet even all this severity does not content some superstitious devotees, who live still more strictly, and confine themselves to bread and water, and almost constant watching during the whole of their lives. In the Greek, as in the Latin church, there are lay brothers, who take the habit and adhere to the rule of the order, called converts (μετανοούμενοι), men weary of the vanities of the world, or who wish by penance and mortification to wash

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away the stain of mortal sins. These undertake the management of domestic affairs, tend the flocks of the convent, and press the wine, of which both lay and regular brethren are permitted to partake.

Like all other such institutions, the severities of the monastic order among the Greeks are considerably relaxed; the progress of knowledge begins to make men ashamed of those follies to which superstition had bound them; but it is long ere reason herself can entirely overthrow the fabric which is propped up by prejudice and habit.

We returned to Ioannina for dinner, and in a few days afterwards made preparations for quitting a place which had afforded us so interesting and agreeable a sojourn. Two days were occupied in bidding adieu to our numerous friends and acquaintance: on the 10th of May we paid our last visit to the vizir in one of his little tenements near Vely's palace, where he was administering *justice*. We staid but a short time, and when we were about to quit for ever an eminent personage with whom we had been so long acquainted and by whom we had been treated with so much civility, it was impossible not to feel certain melancholy sensations, in spite of that horror which the knowledge of his crimes and the sight of his tyranny was calculated to inspire: he begged us to carry a letter to General Campbell at Zante, in which he said he had expressed to him the satisfaction he had received from our visit. Having thanked his highness for the hospitality we had met with in his dominions, and recommended Mustafà and Nicolo very earnestly to his favour, we arose and made our obeisance: this he courteously returned by bowing his head and placing his right hand upon his breast; after which we left the apartment and saw him no more.

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Being close to the habitation of Mahmet Pasha, we took leave of that engaging youth, who desired us to think of him as a friend highly interested in our welfare. We finished our visits with Mouchtar Pasha, to whose youngest son, a fine little fellow about seven years old, we presented a pair of beautiful English pistols, as a slight acknowledgment of the attentions shown us by his father. Mouchtar gave us a bouyourdee for our journey, in addition to that of the vizir, and promised to send with us through the extent of his possessions a young Albanian in his own service, son of the governor of Paramithia. We spent the evening, which was rather a mournful one, with our kind friends the Messrs. Pouqueville, and then retired to sleep for the last time in Ioannina.

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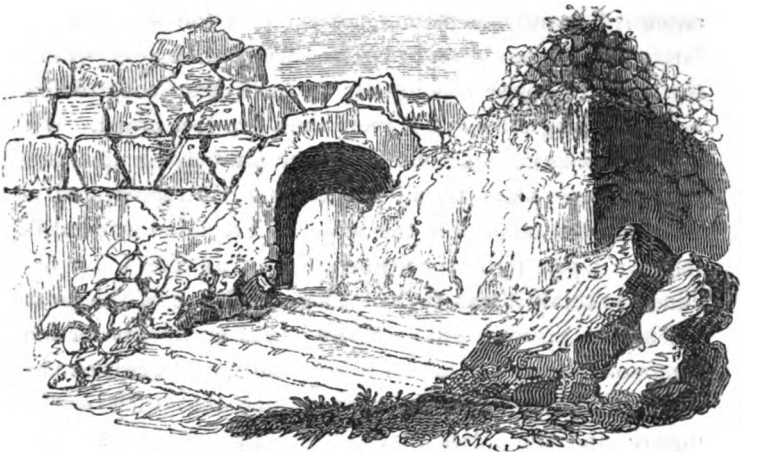

Ancient gateway at Paramithia.

CHAPTER XIV.

MAY 11.—An early hour in the morning was fixed upon for our departure; but so much time was occupied in arranging our affairs, in receiving visits, and in distributing appropriate tokens of gratitude among our friends and hosts, that it was near noon before the cavalcade could be put in motion. At length notice was given that all was ready: we mounted our horses and made our way with some difficulty through the crowds that lined the court and adjoining streets to witness the procession, which consisted of ten men and at least double that number of horses. Our first stage was to Dramisus, being accompanied thus far by Mr. *Cerbere*, a young Frenchman, who had arrived from Corfu on a visit to Mr. Pouqueville, and was desirous of inspecting the ruins there. The evening was delightful, and we retraced with pleasure the remains

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of this venerable Epirotic city. In addition to my former account I have little to add, except that the walls of its fortress are from eleven to twelve feet in thickness, whilst those of the lower city appear to have been constructed only of a single stone not more than two feet broad. We observed a large piece of defaced sculpture lying upon the ground near some recent excavations; it represented a Triton in bas-relief, but the style of execution was indifferent. Upon farther consideration of its site I am inclined to think it was that of Passeron,* one of the most celebrated Epirotic cities; where it was customary for the kings of Molossis to take a solemn oath, and exact one in return from their people; the former that they would govern, and the latter that they would defend the state, according to the prescription of the laws: this was done after sacrifices to the Martial Jupiter; and that stupendous theatre which still exists, was probably appropriated to the solemn ceremony.

We slept at Dramisus; but though we changed our cottage we did not escape those indefatigable torturers which had destroyed our rest in a former excursion. On the morrow we parted with our companion, and took the road to Paramithia, proceeding in a northerly direction until we turned round the extremity of Mount Olitzika towards the west, in which course we kept generally for the next six hours. Our route during this time lay along the sinuosities of contiguous valleys, watered by transparent streams, shaded with evergreens and thickets of beautiful shrubs, amidst which a thousand nightingales made the air resound with their sweet notes. It was in this excursion that I felt to the full those ecstatic sensations

* Εἰώθεισαν οἱ Βασιλεῖς, ἐν Πασσαρῶνι χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες, ὁρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὁρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. Plut. in Vit. Pyrrhi.

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which a Grecian spring, to which no description can do justice, is capable of inspiring; when a balmy softness and serenity pervade the atmosphere; when the richest tints are painted on the cloudless sky; when every valley and every plain is clothed in the deepest and most luxuriant verdure; when every grove is vocal with the melody of feathered songsters; when a thousand flowers dye the surface of the earth and shed a perfume through the air; when the brightest splendor of the morning sun animates the soul of man, and the coolest shades of evening refresh him after his daily toil. Nurtured as they were amidst such scenes, breathing such an air, and inspired with such sensations, who can wonder at that delicacy of taste, that vigour of imagination, that tenderness of sentiment, that conception of the beautiful, which distinguished the sons of Greece, when Greece was free?

In these valleys we met many parties of Vlakiote shepherds driving their flocks and herds from the great plains of Thesprotia, to which they had emigrated from the colder regions of Zagori and the Pindus, for the sake of pasturage during the severity of winter: the vizir possessed immense tracts of land in these parts, and to him they paid a certain price for every head of cattle turned into his pastures. The wives and daughters of these people rode upon asses and mules, while the sons assisted their fathers in driving their flocks and herds; the infants were packed up in panniers, together with the scanty articles of household furniture, and carried on horses, being closed up in their receptacles till their heads only could be seen. In about seven hours we arrived at the village of Eleftherochori on the top of a rugged defile, where many sanguinary contests took place between Ali and the people of Paramithia: the conqueror had built a

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small fortress to defend the pass. The sun was setting when we began to descend through this chasm into the great plain of Paramithia, which spread before us its magnificent scenery: we could count five undulating ridges of mountains, all rising one beyond the other towards the Adriatic coast and tinged with the colours of the setting sun. Emerging from the narrow part of the defile we continued along the mountain path on our left, and soon saw the castle of Paramithia hanging as it were on a vast rock above the city, which lies supine upon the side of a mountain.

It is considerable in size and contains many good houses; a few of which in the outskirts had not yet recovered from the effects of war. Almost all the habitations are separate and shaded by luxuriant plane-trees, beneath which there are more fountains of delicious water than I ever saw in any town: this, added to the charming scenery which its site commands, made me think I should prefer it as a place of residence to any other in Epirus. To what ancient city Paramithia has succeeded it is now difficult to determine; Pandosia, Gitanæ, and Batiæ, all put in a claim; that of the last-mentioned place seems generally allowed, probably because its name bears the nearest resemblance to the modern appellation: that an ancient city did once occupy this site, is clear both from the remains of Hellenic building observable in the fortress, and the number of beautiful bronze statues that have been discovered in excavations, several of which are very finely engraved and illustrated in the Specimens of Ancient Sculpture published by the Society of Dilettanti.* One or two of these are androgynous

* Vol. I.

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figures of Apollo, or Bacchus,* as both those deities were so represented in the cosmogonical system of the ancients, to signify the productive or demiurgic energy: but the most beautiful of all these treasures is an exquisite bas-relief in the possession of Mr. Hawkins, supposed to have been the cover of a mirror; so fine a specimen of the toreutic art, both in composition and execution, that we may well imagine it to be of that Corinthian manufacture which was so highly valued by the ancients; especially as we know that the mirrors of that city were held in peculiar estimation. (Æl. Var. Hist. L. xii. c. 58.) The subject of this fine bronze has generally been supposed to be that of Paris and Helen; but Mr. Millingen proposes with greater probability a scene between Anchises and Venus, when the goddess enamoured of his beauty descends to visit him on Mount Ida. This fable, which is of great antiquity, forms the principal subject of Homer's Hymn; it is recorded by Hesiod, and alluded to by Theocritus (Idyll. l. 105.): from its great celebrity therefore it must in all probability have attracted the attention of artists. The composition may, as Mr. M. suggests, refer to the moment when the goddess, who had introduced herself to Anchises as a mortal nymph, awakes

* Bacchus is thus described in Orph. Hymn. xlii. 4.

Ἄῤῥενα καὶ θῆλυν, διφυῆ λύσειον Ἴακχον·

and also in Hymn. xxx. 8.

Ἄγριον, ἄῤῥητον, κρύφιον, δικέρωτα, δίμορφον.

In allusion to which Ovid says,

— Tibi, cum sine cornibus adstas
Virgineum caput est. Met. iv. 19.

To exemplify this idea, the more beautiful figures of the youthful Bacchus have always a softness of feature and delicate contour of limbs, which exhibit in a striking manner the female character blended with that of the other sex.

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him from his sleep and discovers herself to him as the goddess of beauty in all her charms.

> Ὡς δ' εἶδεν δειρήν τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' Ἀφροδίτης,
> Τάρβησέν τε καὶ ὅσσε παρακλιδὸν ἔτραπεν ἄλλη. Hym. in Ven. 128.

From the discovery of such fine works of art at this place it has been concluded that some celebrated repository of these existed in the vicinity; and it has even been brought forward as an argument, by those who place the Temple of Dodona in this part of Epirus. If they did not come from the Plutonian temples on the banks of Acheron, possibly the Amalthéum of the accomplished Atticus, which was on the Thyamis, at no great distance, may have furnished these appropriate ornaments of a magnificent villa.

We were conducted to an excellent lodging in Paramithia by the governor's son, who then left us and proceeded to his father's dwelling: next morning, while we were at breakfast, we received a visit from two great personages, the Greek Primate and the Bishop: the latter was very chatty, and as he sat cross-legged upon the floor beside our table, gave us a history of his diocese, and described the manners of the people before the vizir's conquest of the country, as barbarous and savage to the greatest degree; not a person of any tribe or any religion daring to approach this inhospitable tract, where life was held so cheap, that the barbarians frequently used to fire upon each other when in want of employment against foreigners. We expressed a desire of visiting the ruins of a city on the banks of the Thyamis, supposed to be the ancient Pandosia; but we were deterred from this plan by receiving information that the whole tract of country was encircled by a cordon of troops on account of the plague; and that if we approached it, a long quarantine would

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await us at our return: we were obliged therefore to be contented with paying a visit to the governor in this fine fortress of Paramithia; for which purpose we took horses, and employed half an hour in the ascent up its steep and rugged acclivities. We passed many large isolated houses, surrounded with gardens, and having loop-holes instead of windows, from whence the musketry of their defenders might be most advantageously directed: we observed also a huge fragment of calcareous rock at the north end of the town, which had been detached this very winter from an overhanging precipice; it had overwhelmed two houses and killed several persons in its fall. At no great distance from this spot stood the ruined mansion of the celebrated Pronio Agà, one of the greatest warriors which this country ever produced.

The fortress is very extensive and surrounded by an outer wall, in which are substructions of ancient masonry; but this is much more apparent near a gateway at the south-east angle.* The foundations of many houses and other buildings within its circuit show that probably the whole city, or at least a considerable portion of it, once stood in this quarter: the view from hence is magnificent, the height being probably a thousand feet above the level of the plain. After having smoked a pipe with the governor, who seemed much pleased at the opportunity we had given him of seeing his son, we returned into the town, passing through the spacious bazar, which is cooled by delicious fountains and shaded by umbrageous plane trees; from thence descending through gardens and orchards at the southern extremity into the plain, we proceeded on our route towards Suli.

After having been delighted with a continual prospect

* See a representation of it at the head of this chapter.

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of towns and villages peeping out of their green mantle of cypresses and oriental planes which adorn this mountain scenery, we arrived in about four hours at the district of Phanari, comprising that grand sweep which the plain makes S.W. up to the coast of the Adriatic: its level being lower than the plain of Paramithia, and unbroken by a single undulation of ground, seems to confirm the tradition that it was overflowed by the sea in the remote ages of antiquity. After riding half an hour and turning to the left, we were astonished by a view of the dark rocks of Suli and the defile of the Acheron: but no pen can do justice to this scenery! It seemed as if we were about to penetrate into Tartarus itself and the awful recesses of the Plutonian realms; ἵν' Ἄδης χωρὶς ὄχισται θεῶν. The river flows in a fine curve through the plain, after it has left that rocky channel, which during successive ages it has worn amidst the sterile crags that echo its hoarse murmurs. Proceeding a little farther we came to the ruins of a Greek monastery which had been destroyed during the Suliot wars: it stood on the very brink of the Acheron, and within the precincts of an ancient temple; as was evident from a number of columns, some lying scattered on the ground, and others, though broken, still resting on their bases: it seemed as if the temple itself had been at one time or other repaired or enlarged; for though many of the pillars were of antique construction and the granite out of which they were formed was in a state of decomposition, others were marble, of smaller dimensions, and of a more modern form. While we were debating with ourselves whether these fragments had ever been included in one of Pluto's Acherusian temples, or whether we might not be standing upon the site of that Pandosia, which, as well as the fatal Acheron, Alexander king of Epirus thought he was commanded by the oracle

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to avoid, a party of Albanian peasants came up, of whom we inquired the name of the place; which we heard with no little surprise was called Aidonati. This appeared to confirm our conjectures; for Aidoneus or Pluto, a king of the Molossi, was fabled to have carried off the beautiful daughter of Ceres, from Sicily to this very region, where Theseus and Pirithous were afterwards confined, when they attempted to deprive him of his prize. The name of Aidonati therefore, preserved apparently from this tradition, afforded grounds for the supposition that this was the Temple of the God of Hell. Anxious however to avoid mistakes I questioned our Albanians upon the reason of the appellation; and was rather disconcerted at hearing it proceeded from an old Greek saint, who was held in great veneration, called San Donato (Ἅγιος Δονάτος), and who was the patron of the ruined monastery. This confounded all our reasonings upon the subject, till I recollected that the devil had been converted into a saint in Sicily,* and it was possible the Greek church might not wish to be behind her sister in paying a similar compliment to so great a personage; at the same time I recalled to mind a story concerning this Saint Donato, which the Bishop of Paramithia had related to us in our conference yesterday. "At a little distance from the village of Glyky," said that prelate with great gravity, "runs a small rivulet which supplied the district with excellent water, until a fierce dragon,

* Meletius in his account of Paramithia calls it Κάστρον τοῦ Ἁγίου Δονάτου. τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ Παραμυθία λέγεται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Ἀϊδωνὰ, ἡ ὁποία πρότερον Γλυκὺ ἐκαλεῖτο· (Mel. Geog. p. 317.) where he is certainly mistaken; for Ἀϊδωνὰ or Ἀϊδονάτι is a district in which Glyky is situated, at the bottom of the rocks of Suli; and Paramithia never was called by either name, as I could learn, in all the inquiries I made at the place; but Meletius makes the river Acheron run from the heights of Paramithia, where no river flows at all, and this has led him into the error.

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with fiery eyes and poisonous breath, taking up his residence at its source, infected the stream to such a degree that all who drank of it immediately perished, and the country became almost depopulated. In this extremity an ancient hermit, who for his extreme sanctity was reverenced under the title of Santo Donato, mounted his ass, and armed only with an osier twig undertook an expedition against the formidable monster. The dragon, as soon as he espied his antagonist, made furiously at him, rolling volumes of flame and smoke from his nostrils: then twisting his tail about the legs of the ass he was upon the point of throwing animal and rider to the ground, when the holy man uttering aloud the name of the Panaghia, smote the beast on the head with his twig and killed him on the spot: then advancing to the stream, where a concourse of people had assembled together, he took up some water in his hand, and drinking it in their presence, cried glyky, glyky (γλυκὺ, γλυκὺ,) 'it is sweet, it is sweet;' from which action the village of Glyky at the bottom of the Acherontian chasm derived its name." A consideration of these circumstances served to confirm us in our original conjecture; for in this monastic tradition we still kept sight of Aidoneus, or Pluto, or Satan, in the form of the old serpent, whose poisonous breath in the rites of paganism infected with deadly venom the water of life, until its sweetness and salubrity was restored by the holy saints and martyrs of the Christian faith. We concluded therefore that one of these pious men having established a monastery on the ruins of the pagan temple, had not given, but received his name from the district in which it was situated, a name which had descended through the different ages of superstition down to the present time; from that Aidoneus, who, in the very district from which he carried off the daughter of Ceres, is

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commemorated in a similar manner: for there exists at this day a small town in the vicinity of Enna which bears the appellation of Aidone.*

From the ruins we advanced to a strong fort near the village, where we were received with great civility by the Albanian governor, a man who had been engaged in the seventeen years war of Suli, and who amused us with many interesting anecdotes relating to that eventful history. At dinner we drank the waters of the Acheron, which having lost all their poetical bitterness, are now very cool and agreeable to the taste. Though we were much fatigued by yesterday's journey, not one of the party could sleep during the night, owing to myriads of vermin which haunt every Albanian dwelling, but more especially the forts and quarters of the soldiery: we therefore rose before the sun, and pitched our tent amongst the ruins of the Plutonian temple upon the bank of the river. After breakfast we started on a progress through the plain of Phanari, in search of the far famed Acherusian Lake, which we knew could not be far distant, by the description of Thucydides, who also plainly designates the relative situation of the Acheron and Thyamis, which are by many travellers and geographers so strangely confounded.†

Descending for a short distance along the right bank of the river, we left it, where it makes a bend to the S. W., and soon arrived at the village of Potamià, whose cottages are more rude and miserable in appearance than Indian

* Vid. D'Orville, Sic. p. 160.

† 'Ορμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς· ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ 'Ελαιάτιδι Θεσπρωτίδος 'Εφύρη· ἔξεισι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν 'Αχερουσία λίμνη ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος 'Αχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει εἰς αὐτὴν ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμὸς ὁρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. Lib. i. cap. 46.

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wigwams: the best are constructed of hurdles, one side of which is left open to the inclemency of the seasons and the sight of passengers; and there the inmates may be seen huddled together with their pigs and other domestic animals almost in a state of nudity. Some of their huts actually consist only of branches of trees half cut through, which being turned down and fastened to the ground form a kind of tent, to which the trunk of the tree serves as a pole. Notwithstanding all this apparent misery the village had a curious and picturesque appearance, being very large and intersected with numerous green alleys covered with vines, shaded by trees of every description, and adorned with a vast quantity of flowers for the nourishment of bees, which every family appeared to cultivate: their hives were of the most simple construction, consisting merely of hollow cylindrical pieces of wood placed upon a bench, and covered at the top with a tile. Leaving Potamià we passed over a marsh or bog formed by the overflowing of the river Vavà, which very probably is the Cocytus of antiquity.* It rises below the mountains of Margariti, opposite Paramithia, and after skirting the opposite side of the plain empties itself into the Acheron at a small distance from its mouth below the village of Tcheuknides. Having passed this marsh, not without some danger of suffocation, we found in the midst of a beautiful grove, not a palaiò-castro as we had been led to

* Pausanias, in his description of the Acheron, intimates that the Cocytus also flows in the same plain—"πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχυρῷ λίμνη τε ἔστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Κωκύτος ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον," and no other river except the Acheron, called the ποτάμι τοῦ Ξοῦλι, and the Vavà is to be discovered in the Phanari. The very appellation Vavà (βαβὰ), which is an expression of grief or aversion, seems to strengthen the conjecture; and not only this, but the water of the Vavà exactly coincides with the expression ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον.

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expect, but an ancient Greek church and the remains of a monastery dedicated to St. George: it was built probably like many of our English convents, in this inaccessible situation, for the sake of security. From thence we toiled over the roots of the Tzamouriot hills to a lake whose superfluous waters are carried off by a subterranean channel into the great marsh near Porto Phanari; but this we soon perceived was not the lake of which we were in search; we therefore made towards a high projecting point, at the extremity of which, overlooking the plain, stands the deserted monastery of St. John, built within the peribolus of an ancient Greek temple of very fine Cyclopéan masonry. The view from hence of the plain, with its majestic circle of mountains, of Porto Phanari and the Ionian Sea interspersed with islands, is extremely beautiful: but the only part of the monastery preserved, is its chapel; at the altar of which we observed several pairs of crutches left there by credulous devotees. Probably the spot on which we stood was the great Necyomantéum, or place for evocation of the dead, so celebrated in the early periods of Grecian history: for it is close to Cichyrus, and Cichyrus was the very capital of Aidoneus. Herodotus informs us that it stood among the Thesprotians on the banks of Acheron, and at the same time relates a curious story of Periander tyrant of Corinth, who sent hither to consult the shade of his wife Melissa.* Pausanias also makes mention of it, and says that the adventure of Orpheus was referred by some to a journey which the poet made to this oracular shrine for evoking the spirit of Eurydice.

A papas, who was well acquainted with the topography

* Herod. lib. v. c. 92. πέμψαντι γὰρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ Νεκυομαντήϊον, &c. Bœot. c. xxx. 3.

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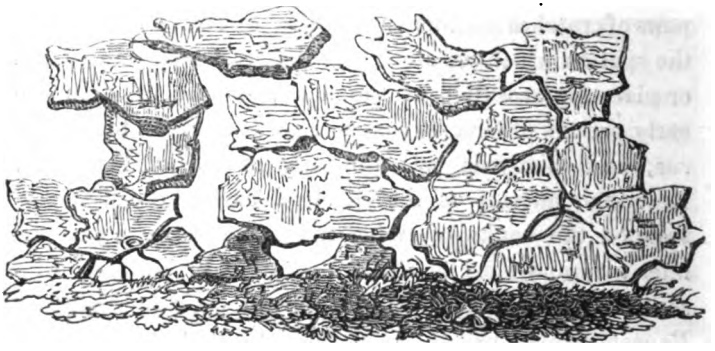
of the place, pointed out to us the real situation of the Acherusian Lake, which appeared at this distance like a small copse of underwood: he offered at the same time to conduct us thither by the nearest route, as the roads along this part of the Phanari are difficult and dangerous, on account of bogs and morasses. Before we proceeded with our intelligent guide in this direction, we accompanied him to a very ancient palaiò-castro, about half a mile from the convent, the walls of which, though for the most part a confused mass of ruin, may be distinctly traced in a circular figure; those parts which remain perfect exhibiting a specimen of masonry apparently more rude even than Tiryns itself, though the blocks used in the construction are scarcely of so large dimensions. The annexed sketch will give the reader some idea of their antiquity.



Ancient Cyclopéan wall at Cichyrus or Ephyre.

I suppose this to have been the ancient city of Cichyrus or Ephyre, not only from the situation assigned to it by Thucydides in the passage in the note p. 438., but from one of Strabo, which on several accounts is worthy of insertion:

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Ἔπειτα ἄκρα Χειμέριον καὶ Γλυκὺς λιμὴν, εἰς ὃν ἐμβάλλει ὁ Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς, ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης, καὶ δεχόμενος πλείους ποταμοὺς ὥστε καὶ γλυκαίνειν τὸν κόλπον· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις πλησίον· Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου μὲν τοῦ κόλπου Κίχυρος, ἡ πρότερον Ἐφύρα, πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν· τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βουθρωτὸν ἡ Φοινίκη· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Κιχύρου πολίχνιον Βουχαίτιον Κασσωπαίων, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὂν καὶ Ἐλάτρια, καὶ Πανδόσια, καὶ Βάτιαι ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. (L. vii. p. 324.)

The district anciently called Elaiatis, from the olive trees it produced, and in which Ephyre was situated, is still noted for the excellence of that plant which confers so many benefits upon the human race. The city was celebrated for its poisons, in search of which Ulysses is brought here by Homer: it is said to have been taken and its king Phileus slain by Hercules;* within its walls, according to Pausanias, Theseus and Pirithous were kept prisoners of war by King Aidoneus, after their attempt to carry off the beauteous Proserpine had failed: and to this city, as Pindar informs us, Neoptolemus came after the Trojan war, when he ruled for some time over the Molossi.†

Returning to the monastery, we descended into the plain, and having crossed the Cocytus by a lofty stone bridge, arrived at length upon the borders of the Acherusian Lake. Its site is only to be discovered by the willows and alders, intermingled with reeds and all sorts of aquatic plants, which grow to a great height and almost choke up the water. Yet there are many channels in this morass through which the peasants pass in boats for the purpose of cutting reeds and faggots, catching eels of an immense size, and taking the eggs or young of wild fowl. Its length, from the spot where it absorbs the waters of

* Od. α. 259. β. 328. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 281. † Nem. Od. vii. 55.

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the Acheron till it again disgorges them, is nearly two miles. It emits no pestilential vapour, though the malaria in all parts of Phanari is very abundant, from the great accumulation of vegetable matter and stagnant water; whilst its destructive effects are perceptible in the sallow and emaciated countenances of the surrounding peasantry: hence probably it was that the ancients, ignorant of the natural causes of disease, transferred the miasmata of the plain to the Plutonian Lake, and represented it as emitting deadly effluvia.

It has been made a subject of discussion how this lake received its appellation, as well as the Acheron and Cocytus, or how this particular district became so intimately connected with Grecian fable. The general conclusion has been that the early Greeks established these topographical situations of the infernal rivers and the mansions of the dead on the utmost verge of civilized Europe, and as population increased, constantly placed them farther westward "πρὸς ἀκτὰν ἑσπέρου θεοῦ," that being the direction in which civilization extended itself. But on this point I rather incline to the opinion of Mr. Bryant, who supposes that the Cuthite or Ammonian colonists in the different places to which they emigrated, established not only the idolatrous rites but the appellations also of various districts of the Memphian plains, those regions so fertile in all the gloomy horrors of Egyptian superstition. Hence it is that we find an Acherusia in Pontus, from whence Hercules was supposed to have brought up Cerberus, (Diod. Sic. lib. xiv.): an Acheron in Apulia, where Alexander King of Epirus lost his life through the ambiguity of an oracle: an Avernus and Cocytus on the Campanian shores: an Acheron in Elis, mentioned by Strabo, connected with the worship of Pluto, Ceres, and Proserpine; and another celebrated by Apollonius Rho-

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dius, in the territory of the Mariandyni. The region round the catacombs of Egypt was called the Acherusian or Acheronian plains;* and there the bodies of kings and princes were deposited in superb mausoleums; there also stood temples in which the rites of fire-worship were exercised, expiatory sacrifices performed, and judgment passed upon the characters of the deceased. As those dark and silent abodes were inviolable, and the daring intruder would have met with certain punishment, the Egyptians were anxious to be entombed there; and it became a general custom to transport thither the bodies of their friends; for this purpose it was necessary to pass over certain lakes and canals which separated it from Memphis; which were cut originally to convey materials for the construction of that ancient city, and received their names from the temples on their banks. Hence arose the notion of the infernal rivers, of the judgment of Minos and Rhadamanthus, and of Charon's fee,† which was a remuneration paid to the ferryman of a temple on the brink of a canal, and which, small as it was, must have augmented greatly the revenue of the priests. The beauty of the plains beyond the catacombs, intersected by these channels which covered them with luxuriant foliage and eternal verdure, gave rise to the Elysian fields and the mansions of the blessed. Orpheus, Homer, and the early poets of Greece, conversant as they were with the ceremonies of Egypt, and acquainted with its topography,

* Diodorus Sic. lib. i. The Egyptian Acheron is also mentioned in some ancient Sibylline verses quoted by Clem. Alexand. Cohort. p. 44.

† This fee amongst the Greeks was an obolus put into the mouth of the deceased. *Ὥστε ἐπειδάν τις ἀποθάνῃ τῶν οἰκείων, πρῶτα μὲν φέροντες ὀβολὸν ἐς τὸ στόμα κατέθηκαν αὐτῷ μισθὸν τῷ πορθμεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας γενησομένων.* (Luc. Dial. de Luctu.)

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immortalized both in their noble poetry, and the Ammonian colonists, addicted to the religion of their native country, instituted similar rites and attached similar names to certain situations in the regions to which they emigrated.

That an Ammonian colony of Cyclopes settled in Thesprotia seems evident from the very ancient Cyclopéan walls which we discovered in the neighbourhood; and, as was the case at Hermione, which we know to have been a Cyclopéan foundation and to have contained an Acherusian lake with a temple dedicated to Pluto, (Pausan. l. ii. c. 35.) so it is probable that they built here a temple to the same God,* and instituted the rites of fire-worship in his honour.† These subjects however I am very ready to confess are beyond my comprehension, their elucidation requiring an extensive knowledge of Oriental languages and mythology.

Leaving the Acherusian lake we bent our steps towards the ruins of Buchetium, about one mile distant: they are situated on a conical rock near the right bank of the Acheron; and the pseudo-Cyclopéan walls, constructed with admirable exactitude, still remain in a high state of preservation: they have served in many places for the substruction of more modern ramparts built by the Catalans or some other tribes who have possessed the country; "mean reparations upon mighty ruins." Two regular lines, which contain several fine towers and gateways,

* That is, to Achor-on, the sun, under the title of Orcus or Pluto.

† The learned reader is desired to take notice that the wife of Periander, whose shade that tyrant sent to invoke in the Acherontian Necyomantéum, was named *Melissa*; and he is referred to the account of Delphi in vol. i. of this work for some elucidation of this circumstance, which tends to strengthen the conjectures that have been here formed respecting the origin of these rites and ceremonies and names.

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encircle the hill, one at the bottom and another near the top, which latter encloses also a fort or citadel: at the bottom, on the south side, run out some strong transverse lines, between which the modern village stands, called Castri: the inhabitants having perhaps never seen a Frank before, flocked around us in great numbers and annoyed us much by their curiosity.

I have no doubt but that this city is the ancient Buchetium, from the situation, near to Ephyre, which Strabo assigns to it in the passage above quoted, as well as from its appearance, which seems to have given rise to the appellation. Its curious and complicated fortifications adapted it for a place of great security; in which point of view its convenience seems to have struck the allies of the Roman consul, M. Fulvius Nobilior; who in the first instance thought of sending hither some Ætolian ambassadors captured near the island of Cephalenia, though they afterwards immured them in the fortress of Charadra.* Indeed a finer specimen of ancient military architecture does not exist in this country: it is picturesque in the highest degree, being surrounded by four other conical mounds embellished with Albanian villages, which rise like isolated rocks above the level surface of a calm sea: nor can there be a doubt but that the salt waves once beat against them. At that time what a magnificent scene must this inland gulf, surrounded by its mountain barriers, have displayed!

From hence our road lay chiefly along the Acheron, which is here a fine pellucid river of no contemptible magnitude. As the shades of night closed round us, our tent, lighted up by lamps within, not only served as a beacon to direct us in our path, but gave comfortable

* See Polybius (lib. xxvii. c. 9), who calls it Buchetum.

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assurance of a good meal after the fatigues of the day. Upon our arrival we were not disappointed: Antonietti had employed well his talents, and the wine of Paramithia was excellent: the old governor, who accepted our invitation to dinner, forgot the rigid rules of Mahometanism when he tasted it, and we sat to a late hour discussing the battles of Suli and the glory of its conqueror. As we expressed our intention of sleeping under the tent, the commandant ordered out the garrison, consisting of about sixty Albanians, directing them to kindle large fires, and to bivouac upon the spot; intimating at the same time that if the least harm should happen to us the vizir would put every soul of them to death: in this manner we went to rest surrounded by those wild mountaineers, and lulled by the murmurs of the Acherontian waves. As the novelty of this situation kept me some time awake, I arose from my bed and seated myself at the door of the tent, to contemplate a scene so full of interest: the silence of night was broken only by the murmurs of a distant fall, the barking of a watch-dog, or the howling of a wolf; the air was so clear, and the stars shone so bright, that the canopy of Heaven itself seemed to descend upon the rugged outline of the Suliot hills, which supported it like gigantic pillars; while the lower regions were involved in deepest gloom, except where the broad stream of Acheron reflected the red glare of our Albanian watch-fires: these rendered a considerable space around the tent as bright as day, including the prostrate columns of the Plutonian temple and the tottering walls of San Donato, on which were delineated ancient saints and martyrs, and other subjects of Superstition's legends. Not the least interesting objects in the scene were the Albanian guards, stretched upon the bare ground, with ataghans and pistols in their belts, and sheltered from the dews of night by their thick

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fleecy capotes: couched at their feet lay a number of large Molossian dogs, faithful companions both in peace and war.

In this calm of nature and silence of the night my mind strayed back to scenes of historic interest, and cast a retrospective glance over the strange events which had occurred upon this theatre during the successive ages of mankind. It was a spot which Mythology had selected as the scene of her wildest fantasies; and in the innermost recesses of these mountains Ambition's cruel satellites had forced the last holds of Grecian Liberty. How hard the fate of men appears! How many on the surface of this globe, which seems made for every innocent enjoyment, are crushed beneath the weight of Tyranny! and how many are subjected to the still more degrading vassalage of Superstition!

On the morrow we bade adieu to our worthy host, having distributed a present among the garrison, who continued to pay us the compliment of firing off their pistols till we were out of sight: advancing almost as far as to the village of Glyky, we crossed the Acheron by a ford, and soon entered into the vast and gloomy chasm of the Cassopæan mountains. The scenery increased in grandeur as we proceeded, and the pass was bordered on each side by perpendicular rocks, broken into every form of wild magnificence: through these some terrible convulsion of nature had opened a passage for the torrent, whose waters thundering along their deep and rocky bed, formed, as they fell from crag to crag, a tumultuous kind of melody, that finely harmonized with the scene.

In two hours we arrived at the bottom of the huge precipice of Kiaffa, whose summits were crowned by the grand castellated serai and forts of the Pasha. Here the deep valley of the Acheron takes a bend to the right, and a

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tributary stream flows through a similar chasm on the left, from the Paramithian district: we recrossed the river and began to ascend a winding path cut on the side of precipices, so narrow as not to admit two persons to ride abreast: a small number of men might here stop the advance of an army. In less than half an hour we arrived in sight of Kiaffa, and at some distance on the left perceived Kako-Suli itself, reduced almost to ruins; then passing by the celebrated fort of Kunghi, we came in view of the grand fortress, whose battlements were lined with Albanian troops: upon our appearance they saluted us with a discharge of cannon and of small arms, the echoes of which among the surrounding rocks were uncommonly fine. Leaving Kiaffa on the left we ascended by a narrow and steep path to the castle gate, where we were received with another discharge of fire-arms and conducted by the governor's son to the state apartments, which had been prepared for our reception, the commander at Glyky having sent an express to give notice of our visit.

The singular and striking features of this wild mountain scenery kept us for a time almost breathless with astonishment: its huge broken masses, rocks, precipices, and chasms, appeared like the ruins of a disjointed world, or like that picture of poetic confusion where Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus are heaped upon each other by the arms of Titanic monsters. Strongly impressed with the novelty and sublimity of the view, I endeavoured to delineate it from the window of the fortress, and got the outline correct, though I can lay but little claim to the beautiful representation of this curious district given in the annexed plate.* After dinner, as the evening was delightful, I

* The fine finish of this is due to the pencil of Mr. Cockerell: the reader will there observe that the highest mountains form the eastern barrier of the Paramithian plain. The ruined village reclining upon the height beneath them

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took a lonely walk in the environs of the castle, listening to the waving of the woods and distant murmurs of the Acheron amidst these impressive solitudes: as I went along, connecting their scenes with objects of classical celebrity and poetic fable, my eye was struck with something white near the path, which turned out to be human bones bleached like snow. Whilst I cut a hole with my travelling sabre to bury them, my thoughts naturally turned to the calamities of this afflicted country, and the heroic efforts made by those among her valiant sons of whom the skeleton before me might have been one. The time has since arrived, when the example of the slaughtered and expatriated Suliots animated the sons of Greece in the glorious contest for Liberty; a time too may come when the association of their martial deeds shall shed an interest over these Acherontian rocks far above that which their connexion with a fabulous mythology can bestow; when the regenerated Muse of Greece shall deck in all the grace of language and imagery of fancy, incidents which these pages have invested with the plain garb of historical narration.

Before I returned from my walk the arch of Heaven was lighted up with fires, of a brilliancy that is known only in these climes, and at such an altitude: within the castle I found Mr. Parker with several members of its garrison before an excellent fire, which the night air in this lofty region rendered indispensable: a young Albanian palikar gave us some animating descriptions of the Suliot contests, and promised next morning to point out the places where they occurred. When the evening was somewhat advanced

is the unfortunate Kako-Suli, once the capital of this republic; that which is partly seen in the vale below the castle is Kiaffa; and the tower in front which crowns a conical hill between the castle and Kako-Suli, is the fort of Aghia Paraskevi upon the top of Kunghi.

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our beds were spread out upon the splendid cushions of the divan, and we retired to rest.

May 15.—Anxious to make my excursions as extensive as possible over these interesting scenes, I arose soon after the sun, and inquired for the palikar who had promised to be my guide: but he was engaged in carrying out the dead body of one of his Albanian comrades who had shot himself in the night. This was the first time I ever had known or heard of the crime of suicide in this country: the incident however made very little impression upon the minds of the garrison, who seemed to think that he to whom life became a burden, had a right to throw it off at pleasure: no one could assign a reason for this rash act of the deceased; but he had been observed of late to indulge in fits of melancholy: he was a tried palikar, and had been deeply engaged in the Suliot wars: perhaps the acts which he was then obliged to perpetrate lay heavy on his soul; perhaps conscience shook over him her torturing lash in the dead hour of night, and some pale imaginary spectre of an innocent victim, like the Gardikiote which disturbed the rest of Mustafà, drove sleep away from his eyelids! Be this as it may, the manner of his death did not preclude the rites of Turkish burial: his corpse was placed under a shed, whilst a sheik who lived in one of the repaired habitations of Kako-Suli, was sent for to perform the previous ablutions. When I returned from my early excursion I found the holy man arrived, and busily occupied, washing the body in a large trough with warm water and soap; in which employment he continued for two hours: the wound was under the left breast and the ball had probably penetrated the very source of life, the countenance being void of distortion and retaining that calm serenity in death which is said always to ensue from fatal wounds by gun-shot. After ablution, the corpse was

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sewed up in a coarse cloth for interment in the cemetery at Kako-Suli.

After breakfast our host carried us round this great fortified serai, built upon a fine isolated cliff, commanding the various avenues of its mountainous district, and frowning over the terrific chasm of the Acheron. In style of architecture it was similar to the great palace of Litaritza; to which, although it yielded in that part of the edifice which was destined for a serai, it was vastly superior in its corresponding fortifications. After this survey I devised a plan for observing the general configuration of this interesting tract of country, the direction of its ridges and valleys, the course of its rivers, and its relative situation with regard to other districts; for which purpose I ascended with Antonietti and our obliging palikar to the highest summit of the great chain behind Kiaffa, which is called Raithovouni.* It was a labour of two hours to accomplish this task; but the extent and grandeur of the view fully recompensed us for our toil: we could see from thence nearly the whole of Epirus, the Acroceraunian hills, the lake of Ioannina, and the distant Pindus in its full extent: Arta with its lovely bay seemed to lie beneath us; all the scattered isles, rocks, and promontories of the Ionian Sea were brought into view: but the most interesting prospect was that of the Suliot district below us, the winding course of the Acheron, the tremendous chasms and ravines into which the light of day can scarcely penetrate, precipices covered with thick woods and surmounted with forts and castles, together with the beautiful Acherusian plain, through which the river, after its exit from these infernal regions, flows in a graceful curve towards the sea. Having provided myself with paper and pencil,

* See the plate representing the exit of the Acheron.

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I contrived to take that sketch of the district which the reader may see at the head of the sixth chapter in this volume;* though I experienced great difficulty in my operations from the violence of the wind.

* In this little sketch are the two following inaccuracies: Avarico and Samoniva ought to change places, and the river Bassa to be Vavà. These mistakes occurred from my residing at a distance from the engraver, and not seeing the vignettes before they were struck off.

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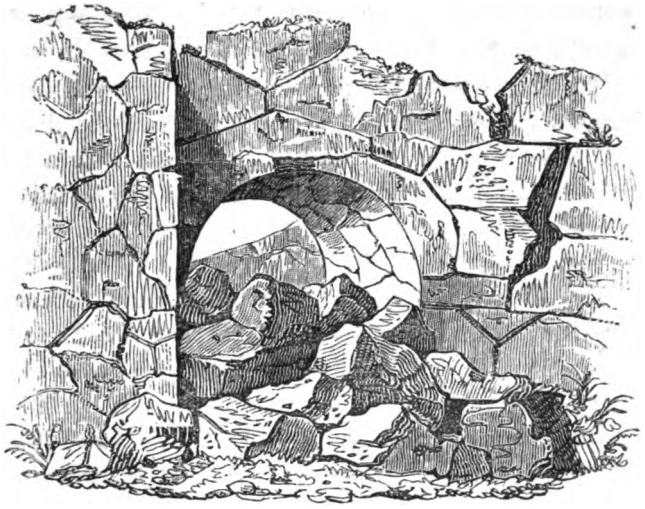

Curious circular arch in the ruins near Camarina.

CHAPTER XV.

MAY 16.—At an early hour this morning, after having distributed a present amongst the garrison, we departed through the castle gate under a farewell salute of artillery and muskets, accompanied by a small party of Albanian palikars. We proceeded in the first instance to the almost deserted site of Kako-Suli, where a single Turkish mosque rears the triumphant crescent over the cross: from thence we returned upon our track, and passing through Kiaffa and Samoniva, arrived at the village of Avarico, near the defile of Klissura, which is commanded by the guns of the great fortress. The scenery here assumes every feature of awful magnificence, where the gloom of woods, the foaming of torrents, and the precipitous nature of the rocks can scarcely be surpassed:

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but the road was so rough and bad that we were obliged to descend from horseback and walk many miles. In about four hours we emerged from these Acherontian defiles where the mountain chain of Suli ends and the district called Laka commences. Here the river winds in a very tortuous course, making several beautiful peninsulas; on one of which we eat our dinner under the shade of a noble plane-tree, smoked our pipes, and slept for about an hour.

After this refreshment we parted from the Albanians and pursued our course for about an hour S. S. E. to the village of Jermi, which was burnt by the vizir in his Suliot wars: from hence we had a charming view down a long valley to the gulph of Arta, in which the extreme softness of its features was rendered more pleasing by the contrast of the scenery we had left. In another hour we took a more easterly direction over some low hills, and then pursued our way under a canopy of aged oaks apparently coeval with the forests of Dodona: here grows some of the finest timber in the world, still spared by the axe, which may yet be destined to bear the flag of regenerated Greece over the waves. After having long endured a brilliant sun, we found the coolness of these over-arching groves quite delightful. The evening shades had descended before we arrived at Lelevo, a large village pleasantly situated in a fertile plain abounding in walnut-trees of magnificent growth: under the branches of one which shaded the cottage of our host, we spread out and eat our supper, as under a tent, while myriads of fire-flies, flitting about in all directions, gave us almost sufficient light by their vivid coruscations. I never observed this insect at any other time or any other place in Greece. In the village of Lelevo cherry-trees are very abundant; its pastures are most luxuriant; and the cattle are generally white like those on the banks of the Clitumnus.

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Next morning we made an excellent breakfast upon cow's milk, this being the only time we had met with it since we left England. The village, according to vulgar tradition, is said to have received its appellation from the devil, that Pontifex Maximus of architects, who was caught here in the shape of a black dog by a necromancer, who constructed the great aqueduct of Nicopolis. The conjuror having tied an enchanted cord round the neck of his prisoner, forced him to labour in this great work and to point out a level for the direction of the water; but in the long struggle which took place before the black hound could be subdued, he made all the hills resound with cries of Lelevo, which, in the Albanian language, means "loose me," or "let me go:" hence the name of the village.

Proceeding for about one hour south, along the plain of Lelevo, we arrived at the ruins of an ancient city called Castri, on a beautiful hill almost two miles in circuit. The lower part of the walls are built in the Pseudo-Cyclopéan style, and like most ruins in this country, exhibit remains of a superstructure more modern. This hill is covered with a vast variety of fine shrubs and trees, which being intermingled with wild flowers and parasitical plants that hang in festoons from the branches or cling to the ancient walls, would make it a delightful retreat, did not danger lurk within its recesses from troops of brigands that frequently make it their head-quarters: in the rooms of a deserted monastery we observed the remains of fires over which these tribes had probably been dividing their booty or regaling themselves after the toils of their profession. Whilst my friend and myself, having left our attendants at the monastery, were ranging about the turfy terraces and entangled thickets, we were somewhat alarmed at hearing a long but interrupted fire of musketry at the bottom of the

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hill, and began to think we had been too rash in penetrating without invitation into the haunts of robbers; but having advanced to that side from whence the noise proceeded, we discovered the retinue of an Albanian wedding in full procession returning from a village church. The bride seated astride upon a horse led by the bridegroom, was accompanied by several of her own sex, and a great crowd of men, who at stated times fired off their pistols and muskets in honour of the festive ceremony. After having watched this merry train till they were hid by an intervening hill, we returned to the monastery without having discovered any inscription or relic which might guide us to a knowledge of the site of Castri, though in a wall of the chapel we observed a fine piece of marble cornice which probably once adorned some ancient temple. Winding down the hill we took a direction nearly north-east, and in about an hour arrived on the banks of the river of Luro, which some have called the Charadrus, and others the Inachus, upon the very fallable authority of Meletius; for that river took its rise in Pindus and flowed near the Amphilochian Argos. I cannot find it mentioned by any ancient author; but its beauty is so great that I am surprised it has not been more particularized. The platani upon its banks force one even to credit all the assertions respecting the astonishing age to which these trees are said to attain: from their size and venerable appearance one might almost suppose they had witnessed the reign of Pyrrhus, the celebration of the Augustan victory, and the devastations of the ferocious Attila: many of them are quite decayed, standing, as it were, by means of their bark, and affording room for twenty men within their hollow trunks. Having ascended up the stream about two miles north, we crossed it over a natural bridge of rock, where the torrent, compressed into a narrow channel, roars like distant thunder

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under the passenger's feet. The village of St. George stands upon a rocky eminence on the left bank, shaded by luxuriant foliage, and at a little distance above it are two fine rows of Roman arches thrown across the valley of the Luro. The children of this place had probably never seen a foreigner before, for they ran from us screaming with might and main as if they had seen centaurs or any other monsters. Under the conduct of the papas, who was only to be distinguished from the poorest peasant by his beard, we visited the fountain, whose abundant source springing out of a hard rock, once supplied the great city of Nicopolis with water from a distance of near forty miles.

It is now diverted from its former channel and falls over the rocks in a broad picturesque cascade.* In our descent towards the high bank of the river we observed a deep broad channel cut in the rock, which led to the first row of arches thrown over the valley; but I am unable to conjecture what could have induced the architect to carry on this channel about fifty yards farther, to meet a second row built in a style of greater elegance than the former, with which it formed a junction on the opposite bank. If it had been to increase the volume of water, one would suppose that might have been done at a less expence by enlarging the channel of the first. As it is, the ruins of these two aqueducts, formed with double rows of arches, and bestriding the pellucid stream whose banks are covered with splendid foliage, form a novel and picturesque scene. After dining under one of the alcoves,

* This water is said to possess some poisonous qualities: we all sipped a little of it, and certainly a disagreeable taste was left in the mouth for several hours afterwards. It must surely have changed its nature since the time of the Romans; or it may have deposited its nauseous ingredients in so long a course.

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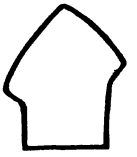
we examined every part of the ruins in search of an inscription which M. Pouqueville had informed us might be seen, but without success. We then ascended to the top, to view the upper region of this superb valley in its splendid combination of woods and rocks and water; and upon one of the mountains which decorate the right bank of the river we saw a channel cut in its side, into which the water was conveyed by the arches just described: its height is between four and five feet and its breadth nearly three: its form may be known from the section here represented. It is covered with a very fine stucco, and the external wall, where the rock was cut away, is generally supported by small buttresses: it has been broken open in many places, and is distinguishable in its windings along the side of several hills which we passed in our ride from Castri.*



* In a country not thoroughly explored, the reader may wish to compare accounts of different travellers: for this reason I give an extract from one of Mr. W. Jones's letters relating to the tract we have just passed over. The epistle addressed to Ali Pasha alluded to at the end, is one which I wrote to the vizir in fulfilment of a promise which he exacted of me, to give him a short detail of our adventures from his dominions to our native land.

"At the village of St. George the aqueduct crosses the Charadrus by two rows of arches which join at an angle on the other side the valley: twelve arches are perfect in one of these branches, with twelve others above them: that arch which is thrown over the principal body of the river is at least forty feet in span. The view up the Charadrus from the top of the broken arches is inimitably grand: I endeavoured to sketch it, but the rain fell so fast that my pencil was quite useless. At about fifty yards below the aqueduct the river runs under rocks in a curious manner, and washes the roots of the largest plane-trees in the world: we measured one and found it twelve yards in circumference, but we afterwards saw others much larger. Having contemplated this charming scenery, we proceeded to the ruins of some ancient town called Castri, and thence to Lelevo. From Lelevo to Suli is an interesting ride; but just as we were going to set out, an officer of the vizir told us that the road was not safe with so small a guard; and as we deemed prudence the best part of courage,

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Having satisfied our curiosity we departed by a different route, nearly south, and in less than an hour crossed the

we determined to take a longer route, and got by night to a miserable village called Roumano, where we pitched our tent on the side of the mountain called Voutzi, having Mount Olitzika in front of us to the north-east. Soon after our arrival the inhabitants brought by the horns a large goat, which we begged might be exchanged for a kid; this was quickly produced, and roasted whole by a large fire of wood close to our tent door. The Turk sitting cross-legged and turning the kid on a large wooden spit, with the wild looking Albanians and old Yusuf Aga, with our other guards, formed a curious scene, which would have afforded no bad subject for a painting.

" We struck our tent early next morning, and entered into the extraordinary region of the Suliotes, celebrated for the noble defence those brave mountaineers made against the arms of Ali. We remained here a day, and went through some of the finest scenery in the world to where the renowned river Acheron enters the great Suliot chasm. Next day we descended into this chasm on our way to Glyky, and from thence traced the river up to the Acherusian Lake, near which we visited the ruins of some old Greek town, to which Mr. Hughes gives the name of Ephyre.

" Returning again to Glyky, we traversed the great and fertile plain of Paramithia, and in our road to Ioannina, visited the ruins of Cassopæa, where there is a theatre of beautiful Grecian architecture, the largest and most perfect existing in the country.

" On our arrival we found the vizir returned from Triccala. In the evening Signore Colovo waited upon us from him, to compliment us upon our arrival, and to know whether we were pleased with our house, &c. Next morning he waited upon us again to say the vizir was ready to receive us, and we accompanied him to the palace, where we found Ali seated on the divan in what is called his secret chamber, unattended except by a few Albanian guards outside the door. He received us with an inclination of the body, putting his hand upon his heart with much grace and dignity, according to the Eastern manner. After our letters of introduction had been read, he expressed much pleasure at seeing us in Ioannina, hoped that we had met with no difficulties on the road from Prevesa, and asked if we were comfortably lodged. As we were drinking our coffee and smoking our long Turkish pipes, he asked us several questions respecting Lord Byron, Major Leake, Hobhouse, Hughes, &c. I delivered to him Hughes's letter, with which he seemed much pleased, and asked me a great many questions about him and his friend Mr. Parker.

" You already know the character of this " man of wars and woes." Yet he can make his countenance one of the most pleasing and alluring that I have ever

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river by a very handsome bridge, called " The Bridge of the Pasheena;" having been built by the wife of Hassan Pasha of Ioannina: it is shaded by magnificent planes and elms, to which the vines are married, and hang in the most graceful festoons. We continued our course S. S. W. through a kind of prairie, covered with rich verdure and adorned with every species of flower and tree that can add beauty to a scene. The road soon led us between two ruined and almost contiguous churches, built of large Roman bricks, and in the best style of that masonry: their walls are still standing, covered with ivy and vines, and shaded by trees of astonishing magnitude; one of the oaks here measured twenty-seven feet five inches in girth, at the distance of a yard from the ground; but I saw others which appeared much larger.

Our guides informed us that the larger church belonged to a monastery, in which once dwelt a hundred caloyers; and the foundations of a more extensive edifice, apparent in an adjoining grove, seemed to confirm their story: this church has a finely built cupola, and the figures of saints and martyrs are not yet obliterated from the walls.

In less than one hour we passed through the village of Philippiada, whose miserable huts are constructed of hurdles, and soon afterwards arrived at Eleftherochori, on the plain of Arta, which is scarcely better; but we were too much fatigued to find fault with our lodging.

Next morning after breakfasting, as at Lelevo, upon de-

seen; and had I not known that character, I should have pronounced him the most humane sovereign in the world. He showed us great attention and kindness, promising us horses and every thing else necessary for our journey to any part we pleased to visit. He asked a great many questions about Dr. Holland; and he took me for a bishop!—General Campbell, I suppose, had contrived some fun of this kind in his letter. So much for our visit to the great Ali Pasha."

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licious milk, we resumed our march, accompanied by about twenty villagers armed with muskets, to escort us through the woods of Arta. At the distance of about a mile from the village we entered these magnificent shades, which extend for many leagues along the gulf, covering mountains, valleys, and plains; the resort of numerous brigands, who for a time escape the hand of justice amidst their deep recesses. To guard us from any sudden attack our Albanian palikars spread themselves all around, running about with incredible agility, and affording a picturesque appearance as they threaded the bushes and thickets, calling out to each other in their uncouth tongue, and firing off their pistols and muskets. In a little more than an hour we arrived at a spot where the river of Luro emerges from these thick covers, near a large wooden bridge and dogana: hither boats come up from Prevesa; but all articles of merchandise paid a duty before they entered the canal, which the vizir cleared out, and which joined the new road from Arta to Ioannina.* Here we heard such alarming reports concerning the robbers, that Mustafà thought it his duty to send for a large reinforcement of guards from the village of Mahmet Chaoush, which lay about a mile distant: in the course of an hour they arrived with the codgià-bashee at their head. Being thus secured, we again penetrated into the thickest part of the wood, and were greatly amused by the evolutions of the Albanians, who having divided themselves into two sets, exhibited a species of mimic warfare, one party retreating and the other advancing by turns; while their shouts and the report of their fire-arms echoed all around. In less than half an hour we saw the ruins of an immense fortress, called the Castle of Rogous, surmounting a fine eminence, still a

* See vol. i. p. 436.

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place of rendezvous for the banditti of these regions, and formerly a grand station of the Epirotic Armatoli. Notwithstanding this, we determined to explore it, since we felt assured that the noise of our guard must have scared away any robbers that might be lurking within ; or if not, we should probably be more than a match for them : accordingly we turned up a narrow path on the left, and having passed the ruins of some ancient outworks, soon arrived in front of the castle itself. We entered by a fine ruined gateway, and found it to consist of three courts, each diminishing in size. The lower part of the walls exhibit a very excellent specimen of the ancient Pseudo-Cyclopean masonry, and support a superstructure comparatively modern, but of much better workmanship than we had before observed in any reparation of ancient fortifications. It is washed to the south and west by the river of Luro, which is here both broad and deep, and makes a right angle in its course : on both these sides we found beautiful terraces, raised above the river, commanding a charming prospect of the Ambracian Gulf, and covered with a turf as soft as velvet, where innumerable wild flowers spread various colours over the ground, whilst the castle walls were nearly hid by ivy and parasitical plants. On the other side, the view extending over spacious woods, comprehending hills, valleys, and plains in their circuit, out of which appeared the blue peaks of mountains rising aloft into the air, was, if possible, still more delightful. The style of building indicates three different eras, that of the ancient Grecian, the Roman, and the more modern Frank. Many rooms in this fortress are still in a tolerable state of perfection ; in the largest court stands a monastery and chapel, which was occupied by some monks until these holy fathers were dispossessed by the banditti : we observed marks of the latter tenants on the smoke-stained

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walls; but we met not with a living creature except two or three large serpents basking amidst the ruins. Our Albanians had killed several of these reptiles in the woods; one of which was of an extraordinary form, about four feet in length, having a head as large as a child's fist and diminishing gradually in thickness to the tail, which tapered in a point: the scales upon the back were of a dark green, each single scale extending quite across the body of the animal, and lapping one over the other: I scarcely ever saw a more disgusting monster. Many such are now bred in these marshy regions of Epirus, from which the arts of cultivation have been so long banished.

Regarding the identity of this fortress, there can be little doubt but that it was the ancient castle called Charadra or Charadrus,* celebrated in this district as a place of great security, and on that account selected for the confinement of the Ætolian ambassadors, instead of Buchetium, by the Epirotic allies of the Roman consul. Philip King of Macedonia also selected it as quarters for the army, which he transported over the gulf into Acarnania, after his ill-advised siege and capture of Ambracus.† Its distance is three hours from Arta, and nine or ten from Prevesa.

We still proceeded two hours under the pleasant shade of these thick woods, through spacious alleys which had lately been cleared by orders of the vizir. We emerged from their coverts into a fine opening in which stands the

* Polyb. Hist. lib. xxii. c. 9. Probably however this latter appellation may be a false reading in the copies of Polybius, or it may mean the river from which the castle took its name, just as the Charadra, a fortress in Phocis, derived its title from a river Charadrus. Pausan. l. x. c. xxxiii. 8.

† Αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δυνάμιν, προῆγε παρὰ Χαράδραν, στενῶν διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον· ὃς στενώτατός ἐστι κατὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων Ἱερὸν, καλούμενον Ἄκτιον. Polyb. l. iv.

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romantic village of Cangià, where we found a young Albanian captain, son of the governor of Camarina, waiting our arrival with his troop of palikars. Here then we dismissed our villagers, after having remunerated them for their loss of time, and remained about two hours to dine: the wine of this village was remarkably good.

As we left Cangià we perceived the aqueduct of Nicopolis on the side of a long mountain to the west of the village, and traced it for more than a mile: the wood now became less thick, and the trees broken into clumps: having passed the ruins of a small Hellenic fortress on the right and a fountain of exquisite beauty, full of large fish, on the left of the road, we arrived in about one hour at Luro, a miserable village, with huts built of mud and twigs: a considerable square fortress, built by the vizir in his Suliot wars, was falling rapidly into decay. From hence we turned N.N.W., and in three hours more arrived at the beautiful village of Camarina, where we were received into the house of the worthy Captain Giannaki. This was without exception the most gentlemanly Albanian we ever met with: there was a commanding dignity, mixed with great urbanity in his countenance and manners, that is seldom seen amongst any people: he was one of the oldest and most esteemed of the vizir's friends, and was very celebrated for his valour and good conduct.

Camarina* is charmingly situated upon beautiful eminences, intermingled with trees, gardens, and vineyards, and commands a view of the Gulf of Arta, the Acarnanian mountains, the Ionian Sea studded with islands, and the

* Its name is probably derived from *καμάρα*, an arch, as it is situated near the great aqueduct of Nicopolis; or it may be a corruption of Comarina, from the gulf of Comarus, which lies only a few miles distant.

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isthmus of Nicopolis lying, as it were, below it. Still higher up the fine hill on which Camarina stands are some spacious ruins called Rhiniassa, where stood probably the city of Elatria, belonging to the district of the Cassopæi: being fatigued by our journey, we deferred the inspection of them till the morning. The house of the governor was large, and so also was his family: his eldest son, who commanded our escort, had been married some years, and lived under the same roof with his father: the family was of the Greek religion, but the same reverence was paid to its chief as among Mahometans of the highest rank: neither man, woman, nor child sat down, or eat, or drank, in his presence.

Early next morning we started under the guidance of young Giannaki to view the ruins of Rhiniassa. These give the traveller no trouble in the search, standing fully exposed to view in a grand curvature, upon two spacious levels or platforms of rock, one above the other, and surrounded by the ancient walls, which vary from about ten to twelve feet in breadth. Their circuit may be traced five or six miles in their full extent, enclosing a space sufficient to contain probably 100,000 inhabitants: this is covered with vestiges of public edifices and private dwellings, the remains of which, for the most part, retain several layers of stones above the foundation; whence we are enabled to obtain a complete plan of this city, the length and breadth of its streets, with the position and comparative size of its public and private buildings, which are almost as great a curiosity as the ruins of Pompeii. The citadel stood on the western side and was admirably fortified: its walls remain to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, constructed in a very ancient Pelasgic style: a postern gateway remains quite entire, exhibiting a curious specimen of

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vaulting in a circular arch, where the style of architecture is incontrovertibly Grecian. It has often been made a matter of dispute whether the Greeks ever used an arch in the construction of their buildings: the specimen which has been recorded at Tiryns and this at Rhiniassa show that both the pointed and the circular arch was introduced, however sparingly, into their architecture: yet neither of them prove that ingenious people to have been acquainted with the modern method of constructing an arch upon mathematical principles; they rather, indeed, afford an argument for the contrary supposition, since in both instances we find the pitch of the one and the curvature of the other, formed by the chisel upon the interior surfaces of large parallel blocks of stone. With this method of construction it must be evident that no arches of a large span could be erected. After I had sketched this curious gateway, (see vignette at the head of the chapter,) we examined the interior of the citadel, and entered into a fine subterranean apartment, through a narrow passage almost twenty yards in length: the room is nearly square, being nine feet nine inches by nine feet six in dimensions: its ceiling is arched like a fine alcove, and as well as the walls, covered over with a stucco as smooth as polished marble, divided elegantly into compartments with rich cornices and mouldings. As the city was probably inhabited long after the Roman conquests, it is difficult to say whether this work was executed by its Greek or Roman citizens. From hence we directed our steps to a very fine theatre which stands near the upper part of the city to the N.N.E. under the high and wooded precipices over which the walls were here carried. I counted thirty-seven rows of seats, with one broad corridor or περίζωμα; each seat was one foot

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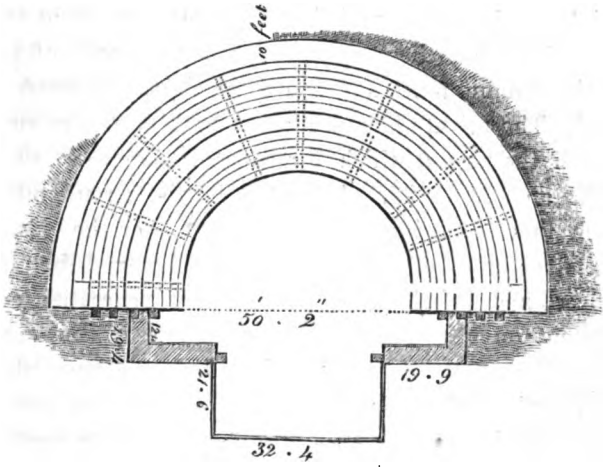
three inches high and one foot six inches broad; the breadth of the upper gallery was only nine feet: the plan and dimensions of this edifice may be seen in the annexed sketch.



On a rocky height to the N. N. W. of the theatre stands one of the principal gateways in a high state of preservation. At some distance to the N. E. we observed the precipices of Zalongo once stained with the blood of Suliot heroines. Below lies a small village whose inhabitants have with immense toil cleared away part of the ruined site of Rhiniassa for gardens and vineyards: this seems a curious waste of labour in a country where two thirds of the land lie uncultivated.

Descending from the theatre in a direction S. E. we passed the remains of a large building, whose walls of Cyclopéan masonry remain about a yard in height; its length is 110 feet and its breadth 100; but nothing is left which can give rise to a conjecture respecting its use: another is ninety feet by thirty; near to which, on the

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opposite side of the street, is a large oblong edifice which was fronted with columns whose bases are still standing.

The plan of this city appears to have been laid out with considerable regularity, most of the streets running parallel to each other from east to west and crossed by others at right angles; they varied in breadth from about ten to fifteen feet; but there appeared a main street, of great length, running north and south, which was eighteen feet broad. The private houses seem to have been very small: some of the largest which I measured were only 45 feet by 32 and 44 by 25. Animated by the strong interest which this scene inspired, we ranged over the deserted streets, entered into the habitations, surveyed the public edifices, and beheld with a species of veneration every fragment on this deserted spot which had been spared amidst the wreck of time. It had hitherto been almost unexplored; Col. Leake being the only modern traveller before ourselves who is known to have visited its remains: when excavations shall hereafter be made, we may expect not only to discover treasures interesting from their connexion with the arts, but evidence which may enable us to assign its proper name to this ancient site: by Meletius it is referred to Elatria, and no other city at present puts in a better claim; yet we are astonished to find such little notice taken by ancient authors of a place so extensive and apparently so magnificent as this: for, although we unaccountably missed it, Mr. W. Jones subsequently discovered a second theatre towards the south-east boundary, cut out of the solid rock like the other, and in a state of as good preservation.

After spending four or five hours in this delightful ramble, we returned to Camarina for breakfast, and then resumed our journey in a southerly direction towards Prevesa, which is about twelve miles distant. At the

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bottom of the heights we soon entered upon a large plain, across which the aqueduct, having now left the mountains, is seen stretching its arched colonnades, and entering the isthmus by a pass through the hills, near the Gulf of Comarus. When we arrived at that beautiful chain of low mountains which bounds Nicopolis on the north, we remained some time to contemplate the scene of ruin which lay beneath us, and then advancing over the deserted site of the "City of Victory," arrived early in the evening at Prevesa, and took up our quarters with the worthy old Italian merchant who had been our host on a former occasion.

Next morning we received visits from the codgià-bashee and the vice-consul, and learned from the latter that an English merchant, a Mr. Richards of Malta, lay with several ships at Port Vathì, ready to take in cows and oxen, purchased of the vizir for the supply of that island. It happened that we brought letters of introduction from England to this gentleman, but had been prevented from delivering them by the plague which broke out in Malta at the time of our intended visit; we therefore gladly seized this opportunity of making his acquaintance in a place where we least expected it; and as soon as we had finished our breakfast repaired to the spot, about half a mile distant from the town, where we found him encamped on the shore, with three vessels lying at anchor. He had been here about a fortnight, and expected to remain a month longer before he should take on board all his cattle. We dined with him under his tent, and he promised to return the visit next day at our lodging: few things are more agreeable than the meeting of fellow-countrymen in a foreign barbarous land.

Next morning we went on board the vizir's frigate which had given us so much trouble at Ioannina, and which lay

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at anchor in the harbour. This, like all other Turkish men-of-war, was held under a divided command, there being two captains!—one for the Greeks and another for the Turks! The Greek captain was a fine weather-beaten old tar from the town of Galaxithi; but the Turkish chief was not on board: the crew looked rather like a set of tailors on their shop-board, being for the most part seated cross-legged on deck, smoking their pipes and playing at draughts or chess: the ship however seemed much cleaner and in better order than Turkish ships in general are reported to be. She was large and roomy, being twenty-nine feet across her quarter-deck; and was reckoned by no means a bad sailer, though not intended originally for the service of war; having been a Hydriot merchant vessel which put into the vizir's port of Butrinto during a gale of wind: there however the unfortunate captain was decoyed ashore, and disappeared; while the ship was detained as a lawful prize and converted to its present use. After having taken coffee and smoked a pipe in the captain's cabin, we stepped into our boat and rowed to the new fortress which Ali had erected on the Acarnanian side of the gulf: in the walls we observed several blocks of marble, which, with their inscriptions, had been sawed asunder: upon one of them I perceived mention made of the ACTIAN APOLLO.

Next day we made an excursion to Nicopolis; when we found that we had been fortunate in our former visit; for being situated on a marshy plain, many of its buildings are literally choked up and hid from view, during the summer months, by thickets of nettles and thistles to the height of eight or ten feet, which effectually bar all human approach. Being however extremely anxious to take some measurements of the Great Theatre, I made an endeavour to penetrate up to that edifice; but whilst I was cutting a path with my travelling sabre through the

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lofty thistles that opposed my progress, a serpent of enormous size rushed by my side, making a crash amongst the weeds in his way towards the ruins. I stood still for some time listening to the noise made by this monster in his retreat, and then retreated myself, leaving the Great Theatre to those actors which now figure on its stage.

Two days afterwards I paid a visit to Colonel M'Combe at Santa Maura, as the quarantine laws were not in force. In that island I endeavoured to find some method of conveyance to the shores of Italy, since we could find none at Prevesa; but without success. We next tried to persuade one of Mr. Richards's captains to bend his sails and carry us across the Adriatic, and that gentleman kindly gave him permission; but the fellow thinking we were sorely pressed, demanded so exorbitant a sum, that we broke off the negotiation, and changed our plan of proceeding.

We now determined to take a boat from Prevesa as far as Parga, and to try our chance there for a conveyance: accordingly on the 28th of May we packed up our baggage, bid adieu to our Prevesan acquaintance and settled accounts with Mustafà and Demetrio. These two faithful domestics followed us to the place of embarkation, where a scene occurred, which, however distressing at the time, is pleasing to reflect upon. They both appeared inconsolable; cried aloud and sobbed like children; and poor Mustafà rushed into the water up to his knees, just as the boat was pushed off, to kiss our hands for the last time; then as we glided over the Ionian waves, we observed them retreating from the crowd of unconcerned spectators, and taking their way towards our late lodging, rendered melancholy by the absence of those whom they appeared to esteem, whom they faithfully served, and whose fatigues and dangers they had shared.

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CHAPTER XVI.

A SOFT breeze blowing from the land wafted us round the bluff point of the bay of Prevesa, and along the Gulf of Comarus; but it died away in the course of a few hours and left us to the exertions of our rowers, who animated and relieved their toil by the wild songs of their country. Lulled by this music and the rippling waves which fell on the shore, we reclined upon the deck and slept soundly under the canopy of a Grecian sky. We awoke about sun-rise and found ourselves in front of Porto Phanari, at the mouth of the Acheron, with a fine breeze blowing right astern. Here as we lay to for a short time, to contemplate the sublime scenery of this classic region, we observed a vast number of fishermen spreading their nets in the beautiful harbour, which still, as it appears to have done in ancient times, supplies almost the whole of this coast with fish.*

* The knowledge of this fact tends very curiously to confirm one of the great Bentley's conjectures upon a fragment of Callimachus, which before his time stood thus:

Ἐξ ἀλὸς οὐ δίκην ἀνέρα Βουχέτιον
Ἕλκειν. Vid. Callim. ex edit. Spanh. vol. ii. p. 377.

That great critic, with his usual sagacity, corrected it as follows:

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As the breeze began to freshen we soon set sail again, and scudding rapidly beside the Chimerian promontory, ran ashore upon a sandy beach in the Gulf of Parga, near a little river that has been mistaken for the Cocytus. Here we pitched our tent, under which we spread out our beds and enjoyed a few hours of repose after the disagreeable motion of the sea. When we got up, Antonietti lighted a fire of dry sticks to prepare breakfast, which we had scarcely finished before we observed an officer in the English uniform, descending from the fortress towards our place of encampment. He brought a kind invitation from Sir Charles Gordon, who had seen us through his telescope, and we immediately adjourned to the residence of the governor. Few situations upon these shores rival that of Parga in beauty: a conical hill, covered with houses and surmounted by a fortress, juts out into the sea and forms two excellent harbours, one on the east and the other on the west; but the bay stretches out its long arms in two fine curves, of which that towards the Acherusian district is terminated by the promontory called Megali Pagagna, and the other towards Paxo and Corfu winds round like a sickle towards the high precipices of Cheladi, which are crowned by a convent and a light-house. The whole territory of Parga may be taken in at one view; for it lies supine upon a theatre of hills, the highest of which

> Ἐξ ἁλὸς οὐδ' ὑκην ἀνέρα Βουχέτιον
> Ἕλκειν.

And adds, "sententia perspicua, cujus tamen *ratio nunc latet.*"

The reason however is now plain enough: Buchetium, which lies just above Porto Phanari, must have been anciently, as it still is, celebrated for its fishermen; but the hyca was so difficult a fish to catch that not even a fisherman of Buchetium, skilful as its inhabitants were, could take it. And that this was the character of the hyca, see Athenæus (lib. vii. c. 22), who quotes Hermippus as saying, εἶναι αὐτὴν ΔΥΣΘΗΡΑΤΟΝ. See also Philetas in loc. cit.

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rises to a peak in the very centre of the chain: the whole of these are covered with the finest olives in the world, intermingled with orange trees and cedrats, adorned with gardens or vineyards, and refreshed by rivulets and perennial fountains, where the Parghiot virgins were once seen, like the heroines of the Odyssey, carrying linen for ablution, or bearing upon their heads pitchers of the purest water for the use of the family; but the finest features in the Parghiot landscape were now, alas! no more.

We were received by Sir C. Gordon with much cordiality and politeness; and I can recal few days during our travels which I spent with greater pleasure than those passed within the fortress of Parga. At dinner we met one or two of the principal inhabitants, and a Signore Vlandi, chief commissary of police, to whose intelligence and civility we were much indebted. In the evening we took a walk round the town, which was large and well built; nor did we fail to observe the respect paid by the inhabitants to their governor; a respect which appeared dictated by the strongest feelings of gratitude, and which, from all we saw and heard of that officer, we were convinced was well merited. The Parghiotes were represented to us by every one connected with them, as a very industrious, honest, and moral people; though many have since been interested in depreciating their good qualities: their attachment to liberty is well known by the determined opposition which they made for thirty years against the attacks of an inveterate enemy; and by the assistance which they always rendered to the Suliots or any other Christian people whose country lay under the fangs of an infidel despoiler. Their valour, which has never been questioned, has always shone forth in the defence of their rights, never in aggression; for the Par-

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ghiotes had not, at the time of their expatriation, increased their territory by a single foot of ground since their ancestors first congregated together upon this hill-altar of Liberty. As for the crime of *piracy*, with which they have been charged, I believe that a person who should now assert it would be laughed at for his ignorance, since there never was a more industrious and commercial people, nor was ever an instance known of a Parghiot pirate on the coast of the Adriatic. Though they adhered strictly to the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church they appeared to do so very conscientiously, according the faith in which they had been brought up; and it would perhaps have been better to have cleared their minds from error and superstition by rational argument and kind forbearance, than to have turned their religion into a reason for delivering up their country to the *Turks*.

With regard to the antiquity of their settlement it can be carried no farther back than the year 1400 of the Christian era; before which time the people dwelt in a place called Palaio-Parga, on the frontiers of their late territory, where its ruins may still be seen: they seem to have transferred their residence to modern Parga, for the sake of greater security against Mahometan invaders; though tradition refers this determination to a miraculous interposition. It is said that a shepherd wandering about in search of a stray sheep discovered an image of the Panagia in a cave: this he transported to Palaio-Parga and placed in a church; but the divine wood unable to rest quiet in this new habitation, returned without any human aid to its former habitation: from thence the pious shepherd again carried it off, and again it made good its retreat. As the determination of the timber seemed now fixed, it became the duty of the other party to give way; so the

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whole tribe emigrated to their rock in the sea, built a church over the cavern, and installed the image with great solemnity: there it enjoyed their days of prosperity; and I understand it has accompanied them in their melancholy exile. In the year after their settlement the Parghiotes were taken under protection of the Venetian flag, which was at that time all powerful in the Adriatic, and this protection was continued by the one party and deserved by the other, until the lion of St. Mark fell beneath the victorious eagles of Buonaparte. Still Parga remained attached to the government of the Ionian islands, and would probably have remained so to this day, but for the base conduct of the Russian cabinet in the treaty of March 1800, which gave up the continental dependencies of the Ionian isles to *Turkish protection!* Never indeed has that cabinet interfered in the affairs of Greece without involving its unfortunate inhabitants in tenfold calamities.

May 30th.—This morning we occupied ourselves in reading the newspapers of our own country, and exulting in its triumphs: we dined with the governor at the military mess, and in the evening took a long walk with Captain Garland and Signore Vlandi through the scenes of Ali's late defeat: the olive trees all around were marked with musket balls, and many of them, especially the orange trees and cedrats, were cut down or otherwise injured by the malice of the Albanians. In returning home we made a circuit to the beautiful fountain San Trifone, distant about a mile from the city: thither the wives and daughters of the Parghiots, in their picturesque attire, were accustomed to resort for water, which they carried in elegantly shaped vases upon their heads: we saw the whole causeway leading to this spot covered with females going and returning in this occupation, and

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amongst them discovered several of exquisite beauty and graceful form. The scene was animated and delightful. How was it soon changed!

Next day, having hired a boat for eighty dollars to carry us to Barletta, we accompanied Sir Charles Gordon in his gun-boat to the little Isle of Paxo, ordering our own bark to follow.

This island lies at the distance of fifteen miles from Parga, one arid rock, eighteen miles in circumference, without a plain or meadow within its territory: it possesses not a single fountain or spring of fresh water,* but procures this most necessary article of life from the Albanian continent or Corfu: it scarcely grows corn sufficient for one hundredth part of its population; yet with all these apparent disadvantages it has within itself the means of producing greater wealth to its inhabitants than all the rest of the Ionian Islands: these depend solely upon its olive trees, which give such excellent oil, that it bears a high premium throughout the Levant, and affords a very profitable exchange to its cultivators. Though there is scarcely any soil upon the surface of Paxo, yet the olive trees are of immense size, shooting their roots into the crevices of the rock, and extracting nourishment where almost every other plant would seek for it in vain. We were surprised at the appearance of the houses, which are remarkably neat and commodious: the inhabitants however, amounting to about four thousand, were not at this time in affluent circumstances, but only just beginning to breathe from the calamities of war: during the occupation of their island by the French they had been not only distressed by their hard masters, but still more so by the

* There is one spring of brackish water behind the town, but not a copious one, and of this we drank at dinner.

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British cruisers, which captured their vessels and put a stop to their commerce.

We dined at the house of the commandant, where we met an Italian abbate, one of the few remnants of the Venetian government. In the evening we attempted a walk in the environs, but were soon fatigued in scrambling over rocks; for there is not a road in the whole island; so that a horse in Paxo is as scarce an article as in Venice, and the people, unable to take exercise either by riding or walking, or to employ a gondola, like the Venetians, are perhaps the most constant worshippers of the Dii Penates in the world.

There are no traces of ancient monuments in this island, of which indeed very little mention is made either by Greek or Latin authors.* The only legend connected with its history is related by Plutarch, in his treatise "On the Decay of Oracles," to which Milton has alluded in his Hymn on the Nativity,† and which the reader will enjoy more in the elegant dress of modern versification, if he possesses a copy of the Horæ Ionicæ.

June 2d.—This morning we bid adieu to our hospitable entertainer and committed ourselves to the Adriatic waves in a Parghiot boat. She carried a twelve-pounder at her prow, and her crew consisted of a master, a pilot, and three other mariners, besides ourselves and four poor Italians, who had deserted from the French army at Corfu, and were unable, without some such assistance, to

* Polybius (l. ii. c. 10.) makes mention of a naval engagement, fought between the Illyrians and Achæans off Paxoi; for the plural is always used by the ancients in speaking of this place, on account of the little rock of Ante-Paxo, which lies to the south-east of it.

† "The lonely mountains o'er
And the resounding shore
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament."

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regain their native shores. Thus, as it may be supposed, we were closely packed! As the breeze wafted us through the beautiful channel of Corfu, by Port Pelodes and the lofty Buthrotum, we roamed in imagination with the Trojan exiles upon the banks of their newly discovered Simois and Scamander, picturing to ourselves the meeting of Æneas with the unfortunate Andromache, and her exquisite valedictory address to the young Ascanius, so pathetically described by the Mantuan bard:

> Cape dona extrema tuorum,
> O mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago:
> Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat,
> Et nunc æquali tecum pubesceret ævo.

As the wind fell, we did not clear the channel till next morning, when the expanse of the Adriatic opened to view, with the dreaded Acroceraunian chain stretching out its huge barrier into the waves: against its precipitous sides, without a port for an extent of sixty miles, the whole force of the Adriatic is driven in a gale; and the unfortunate bark caught there by the tempest is inevitably lost upon these rocks,

> Infames scopulos Acroceraunias.

They were at this time shining in bright ether without a single cloud from whence a thunderbolt could fall upon their scathed summits. Having now only very light breezes from the north-west, we passed the whole day within sight of the villages and fine cypress groves on the northern shore of Corfu, and in the evening were just able to beat up, by reason of the wind veering round a little, to the small island of Marlera, about three leagues distant. Next morning, as the wind continued unfavourable, we pitched our tent upon the shore, and as it was the birth-

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day of our late revered king, we determined to celebrate it as well as circumstances would permit. I accordingly set out with Antonietti to the village, and admired as we went along, the fine trees, vines, and shrubs, as well as the various flowers spread over the diversified surface of this beautiful little isle. The hills were cultivated to the very top, and the valleys exhibited charming rural scenes; being every where interspersed with picturesque cottages, and laying open views of the sea, of the neighbouring islands, or of the Albanian coast. Whether this be Calypso's isle or not, I will not pretend to determine, but it offers a fair claim to it from its external features. We found the village small, but neatly built, and containing one handsome church: the people were civil, and supplied us willingly with poultry, bread, and excellent wine, with which we returned well loaded to the tent. There the feast was spread out; the English standard hoisted at the mast head; and at the end of the first toast after dinner, which was "the King of Old England," one of the crew stationed in the boat fired off the twelve-pounder: this, however, was the occasion of great alarm to the poor peasants, who, thinking that the crew of a Barbary corsair had landed upon their shores, set off scampering over the fields in all directions.

As we sat and contemplated the verdant shores of Corcyra, on which the French flag was still waving, we could not help anticipating the happier destinies which seemed to await this and its sister isles, under the powerful protection of our own country. These fair territories, blessed by the choicest gifts of nature, had hitherto presented only a picture of internal misery throughout the several periods of modern history. During the corrupt ages of the Eastern Empire they participated largely in those evils which attend the old age of power, suffering

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all the frightful calamities of barbaric invasions, and passing in rapid succession from one lord to another. Under the dominion of Venice, they were considered solely in the light of profitable appendages to that proud inquisitorial government. Jealous of the talent and activity which distinguishes the Greeks, she endeavoured not only to destroy their moral virtues, but their national character and political union, altering their customs, abolishing their language, corrupting their literature, and by the most refined arts of Machiavelism extinguishing their emulation.

The occupation of these islands by the French republicans did not tend to better their condition; when anarchy succeeded to servitude, scepticism to ignorance, and the example of a licentious soldiery to that of corrupt administrators of the laws: although under the Empire some evils were removed or alleviated, yet it was not to be expected that any great improvement, moral or physical, could take place, or that the spirits of the people could recover their elasticity under the weight of military exactions and an expenditure very disproportionate to the national resources.

But the clouds which had so long hovered round their ill-fated shores, seemed now about to disperse: for the surrender of Corfu was daily expected; and the probable result of that would be the re-establishment of the Septinsular government, under the protection of Great Britain.

The prospects which on that day opened to our minds have been since fulfilled. The Ionian government has acquired a political consistency and credit which it never before possessed; the foundations of its strength and prosperity are laid; its flag waves over the ocean; commerce spreads her treasures over its shores; and the

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establishment of a national university promises to elicit once more the genius of its people and direct their susceptible faculties to the cultivation, not only of sentiment and taste, but the principles of sound philosophy.

This evening we slept on board, and as the wind changed to a more favourable point, we found ourselves, when the sun rose, opposite that point of Acroceraunia, whence there is the shortest run to the Italian coast.

Unde iter Italiam, cursusque brevissimus undis.

In mid-channel it was interesting to view on one side Greece, and on the other Italy; those shores from whence the light of knowledge first beamed on our western climes. As we approached the Italian coast we observed the towers of Otranto rising, as it were, from the waves, upon that low land which forms such a contrast with the dreaded heights we had just left.

Obscuros colles humilemque videmus
Italiam.

With a fine breeze right astern we scudded over the waves and soon left Brindisi behind us: but during the night the wind fell, and the succeeding breeze was so unfavourable, that about mid-day we put back, and ran into a small harbour near one of those large towers which line this coast. I soon observed marks of great antiquity about this port, artificially formed out of the rock; and was preparing to land, when I was suddenly hailed by a Neapolitan officer from the tower, who reminded me that I was subject to the laws of quarantine. In the conversation which ensued, he informed us that he was himself an Englishman by birth, though bred up in Naples, and engaged in the service of its sovereign. This inclining him to favour our wishes, he permitted us to

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land and pitch our tent, upon our own suggestion that he should place a guard over us, whom we readily agreed to remunerate.

No sooner had we set foot on the soil, than we found ourselves surrounded by the ruins of a large city, which, after some investigation appeared to be the ancient Egnatia, situated on the great Appian way that led from Rome to Brundusium, and noted for those juggling tricks of its priests which are ridiculed by Horace.

> ——— Dein Gnatia lymphis
> Iratis extructa dedit risusque jocosque ;
> Dum flamma sine, tura liquescere limine sacro
> Persuadere cupit.* Lib. i. Sat. v. 96.

One would think that the priests of St. Januarius had taken this very hint. The town appears to have been nearly square, and the rock upon which it stood to have furnished stone for its edifices: we observed large quarries, the sides of which had been afterwards excavated for sepulchral caverns, and turned into mural cemeteries: over some of the niches we observed a figure of the Latin cross cut in the rock between two Roman capitals A. R. We also found vast masses of foundations, and one edifice with a vaulted roof, whose shell was nearly perfect, similar in form to what is called the temple of Minerva Medica at Rome. Farther to the south appeared another small port, cut also by art in the rock, into which a rivulet was pouring its scanty tribute. Great numbers of the peasantry were employed in the corn harvest: but though we accosted several, we were unable to compre-

* Pliny describes the miracle in rather different terms: "In Salentino oppido Egnatia, imposito *ligno* in Saxum quoddam ibi sacrum, protinus flammam existere. Lib. ii. c. 107." Probably all this wonder arose from some spiracle of mephitic gas which was easily inflamed.

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hend their uncouth dialect: their manners appeared strangely uncivilized, and it is said they are not very courteous towards the unprotected traveller. But of all their peculiarities nothing is so striking as their apparel, the men wearing upon their heads a high peaked hat of white beaver, exactly similar to that with which the zany among mountebanks is decorated, and the women coiling up their long black hair in plaits, which they transfix with thin silver bars tipped at each end with knobs and small chains;* whilst rings hang suspended from their ears, of a size that might tempt an active harlequin to try his skill at a leap.

We slept under our tent, but were awakened in the middle of the night by a deputation from the health-office of Ostuni; and it was lucky for us and our friend in the tower that they found the sentinels on their post. About noon next day we again set sail, and on the following morning passed the towers of Bari, "Bari mœnia piscosi," as noted in modern as it was in ancient times for the excellence and abundance of its fish: it was interesting to observe a corroboration of Horace's account, in several little fleets of fishing boats, which we saw spreading their sails and steering for their respective stations. Soon afterwards we had a narrow escape from being captured by an Algerine xebec, which we descried in the horizon: as it often happens in these seas, she was becalmed, while we enjoyed a fine breeze; but during our residence in the lazaretto we heard that she engaged and took an Austrian merchantman from Trieste on this very day, and threw the whole coast of Apulia

* This seems to be a very ancient fashion, vid. Mart. Epig. 24. lib. xiv.

Tænia ne madidos violet bombycina crines
Figat acus tortas sustineatque comas.

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into consternation and misery by capturing many fishing boats and carrying the crews into captivity.

On the 9th of June we entered into the lazaretto of Barletta to perform a vexatious quarantine of forty days; as if one-third of that period were not more than sufficient to discover any lurking symptoms of the plague! At any other time we might have cut off two-thirds of our imprisonment by bribing the officers; but they happened just now to be under prosecution for an offence of this kind, and we were doomed to undergo the full term allotted to us.

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Plain of Cannæ, called Pezzo di Sangue.

CHAPTER XVII.

On the next day after we had regained our liberty we made an excursion with Signore Giovanni Millar captain of the port, the governor of the lazaretto, and another Italian gentleman. Having proceeded through the vineyards * for a few miles north, we arrived at the mouth of the Aufidus, and deflecting thence to the left soon arrived at the site of Cannæ, "busto insignes nominis Romani;" of which little now is left except its name.

The only traces we discovered of it were a few subterranean reservoirs, under the eminence on which it was situated, and a vaulted edifice containing a fountain, built like all the ancient edifices and city walls we

* The quantity of wine made in this country is prodigious: we purchased it at three baiocs, i. e. a little more than a penny a bottle: large reservoirs are made in the fields to hold it, in the form of cisterns; and the grapes are pressed out by the feet of the labourers, as in the time of Tibullus.

Aurea tunc pressos pedibus dedit uva liquores.

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saw on this coast, with oblong blocks of stone, scarcely equalling in size one-third of those employed on similar buildings in Greece.

From Cannæ we proceeded about three miles, nearly E. N. E. to Cannosa, built upon the site as well as from the ruins of Canusium, that ancient city of Diomede,* which received the Roman fugitives in their disastrous flight. At this place one of our party had a brother-in-law, to whom he had sent notice of our arrival, and with whom he intended we should dine. Owing however to some family circumstances, this visit was inconvenient; which gave occasion to a scene hereafter to be described, which, although it originated in a mistake, I blush to think upon even at the present day. In the mean time we walked about to survey the town, and were surprised by the great quantity of sepulchral monuments and other fragments of the ancient city, worked up and preserved in the walls of the modern habitations: a circumstance which gives to the place a singularly antique and interesting appearance.

During our perambulations we were joined by an intelligent priest, under whose guidance we visited the metropolitan church of St. Sabinus, founded in the sixth century, and preserved safe through the calamities of so many ages. It is rich in marbles, and its roof is supported by six stupendous columns of verde antique. In a small area adjoining another church, we saw the beautiful mausoleum which covered the ashes of the accomplished Bohemond, one of the heroes of the "Gerusalemme liberata," who died and was buried here in 1111. It is built of marble in the form of an octagonal cupola, inscribed with gothic rhymes, and adorned with sculpture, representing an

* Qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim. Hor. Sat. v. l. 1.

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assemblage of Christian knights kneeling before the Virgin.

From hence we descended into some vineyards to see a great curiosity, discovered, about a year before our arrival, by some workmen who were excavating a wine vault in the tufa-rock. In forming the large chamber which gives light to some long subterranean galleries, they accidentally burst into a superb sepulchre, formed like an ancient Doric temple, with a fine angular roof, semi-pilasters cut at the sides, and a regular entablature. The entrance, which had been artificially closed, was on the opposite side to that broken open. At one side of this mausoleum, upon the ground, lay the armour of some ancient hero, on several parts of which the gilding was distinguishable; but the corpse was totally decayed.

At one end of the tomb stood three of the finest terra-cotta vases that have yet been brought to light: upon the largest, which is between four and five feet in height, the labours of Hercules are beautifully pourtrayed: the next is three feet high, and exhibits the adventures of the Argonautic expedition: the last is two; but all were filled with vases of smaller dimensions: at the other end of the tomb were two pedestals, cut from the rock, on one of which stood a wild boar, executed in a rough but spirited style, and on the other a dog, which had been almost broken to pieces by the peasants. No one had formed a conjecture respecting the tenant of this superb sepulchre, which carried back the imagination to the remotest ages of antiquity. Its magnificence and form of a *temple*, might lead us to ascribe it even to Diomede himself, the founder of the city, who, as we know from Pindar, was deified:* and this opinion perhaps receives some confirmation

* Διομηδέα δὲ ἄμβροτον
Ξανθὴ πότε γλαυκῶπις ἔθηκε θεόν. Nem. Od. x.

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from the appearance of its ornaments. Diomede was the son of Tydeus, a conspicuous character at the famous chase of the Calydonian boar; and on the coins discovered at Arpi, the ancient Argyripa, founded also by Diomede, the figure of the boar is represented: we learn moreover from Julius Pollux that the people of Calydon gave sepulchral honours to Aura the bitch of Atalanta which was killed by the monster.* It is worthy also of remark that the ornamental figures on the vases relate to actions which took place prior to the age of Diomede.

The priest who acted as our guide had purchased these beautiful vases from the proprietor of the vault. But the fame of the discovery soon reached the ears of the court, and an order was sent to bring them to the queen's repository at Naples, while the purchaser and seller were both condemned in large fines for concealing the property.

From thence we returned into the city and were conducted to its most respectable looking mansion. As we were ascending the flight of marble steps leading to the first floor, Signore Millar unfortunately made an observation respecting the excellence *of the hotel*, which we took literally, and naturally concluded that, as it was inconvenient for the private family of our companion to receive us, he would take us to a place of public entertainment. Under this impression my friend and myself agreed that it would be right in us to defray the expences of the feast, to which we invited our clerical conductor, as well as an improvisatore who had also been accidentally introduced to us. Being met at the top of the staircase by the master of the house we passed him with a very slight notice of his ceremonious bows, and proceeded straight-

* Ἔνδοξος δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀταλάντης κυών, Ἄδρα τοὔνομα, ἣν ὁ Καλυδώνιος σῦς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ κυνὸς σῆμα Καλυδωνίοις. Lib. v. c. 6. This quotation shows the true derivation of that celebrated bitch's name—"the tail-less."

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way into the saloon: there we unceremoniously threw off our coats, on account of the heat, and having ordered the children out of the apartment, who made too much noise for a hot day, we reclined at full length upon the chairs till we recovered from our fatigue. Mr. Parker then ordered the host to bring him water, soap, and towels; when the poor man readily obeyed, and with great good nature held the basin while the other washed his hands and face. He next had the mortification of hearing hopes expressed of a special good dinner, and a particular request that he would produce the best wines in his cellar, with various other observations which guests are in the habit of making when they wish to oblige a landlord, and act, as it is called, *for the good of the house*. It is surprising that our Italian friends did not stop us in this career, and I can only account for their silence by supposing that they thought such manners were tolerated in England: yet when they saw us invite the master of the house to sit down at his own table, where we took the chief seats and did the honours of the feast, and especially when we ordered the improvisatore to commence operations, and called up some itinerant musicians from the street, I wonder how Italian urbanity and patience could have endured it. At length as the time approached for our return to Barletta, I arose, and quietly beckoning the host out of the room, requested him privately to make out his bill, which I was desirous to discharge: but never shall I forget his expression of countenance at this proposal. With hair all standing on end, and with an inconceivable shrug of the shoulders, he vehemently pronounced the word "bill" several times, till it seemed to stick in his throat and stop his utterance. A pause ensued, and I endeavoured to explain myself; when the poor man assured me that he had never made a bill in all his life,

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and that he was too happy at entertaining Englishmen in his house, if they would excuse his poor accommodations. The idea of some mistake now flashed across my mind; I requested to know whom I had the honour of addressing; and, to my perfect horror, was answered, the Prefect of the city. Confusion now tied up my tongue, for the excuse I had to offer seemed almost as bad as the conduct of which he had so much reason to complain: I therefore sent for Giovanni Millar, and having made him explain the origin of the mistake, I expressed, in the strongest terms my knowledge of the language would permit, our sorrow for conduct which must have had the appearance of extreme brutality, but which, if referred to the unfortunate cause, would I hope not appear inconsistent. The worthy prefect accepted this apology as politely as he had borne with our apparent rudeness; but still I never felt greater relief than when we stepped into the carriage and turned our backs upon the walls of Cannosa.

On the evening after this adventure we set out for Naples in a strange kind of carriage, which answers to our mail in carrying letters to and from the capital, but in form and convenience resembles much more a poulterer's cart. It is formed of wood, like a large square box, painted, slung upon thick leathern straps which pass over two rough axle-trees, a foot each in diameter: it receives four inside and two outside passengers, the postilion sitting upon one of the wheel-horses and directing the leaders with a long whip. Such is the mail-coach system in Italy.

An occurrence had taken place connected with the very last journey of this vehicle which threw all the country into alarm, and made every one advise us to proceed by sea to Naples. At a celebrated pass in the Appennines, called the Ponte di Bovino, a large corps of brigands concealed behind

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the rocks, had fired a volley upon the carriage, killed the horses and postilion, burned all the letters, taken out an unfortunate officer, whom they shot on the spot, and carried away a still more unfortunate female to their haunts in the mountains. Traces of this outrage presented themselves to our eyes in numerous musket-balls at this time sticking in the body of the machine; but we judged it expedient to proceed immediately after the commission of such an act, since it was not very likely that it would be soon repeated. The terrors of our Italian companions amused us during the journey: but at the fatal pass, their reason seemed almost overcome by their fears, which were not a little increased by a terrific thunder-storm, whose echoes were finely reverberated among the rocks and valleys. We staid at the post-house two hours before the storm abated, and when we arrived at the spot where the late attack had been made, we observed one of the horses lying by the road-side, with its flesh already half stripped from the carcass by birds of prey. As for the banditti, we saw none of them except a few wretches bound with cords, in custody of the peasants, who, after this last outrage, had collected together in large bodies, headed by their priests, dispersed the villains from their haunts, and rescued the captive lady, much to the credit of Italian gallantry.

About mid-way in the pass we changed horses at a large solitary post-house, where we observed several persons, both men and women, dressed in strange attire, and speaking a most unintelligible dialect. Antonietti, who has a great facility at acquiring the knowledge and sound of languages, soon discovered the Albanese to be the root of this jargon, and upon inquiry we found that several towns and villages, some of which we saw upon the opposite heights, were chiefly peopled with Albanian colonists who

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had preserved their customs and language in these wild mountains of Apulia.*

Having passed safely through this terrific defile, we had only one more cause of alarm during the journey, which arose from the carriage being nearly pitched down a precipice; though I am surprised that the extraordinary mode of driving adopted in this country does not often lead to such accidents. After having undergone exquisite tortures in this detestable machine for two nights and the intervening day, we were deposited on the second morning at Naples, scarcely able to walk from the soreness of our limbs, having been actually obliged to tie tight bandages round our bodies to prevent a dislocation of the joints.

At Naples we remained ten days, which were delightfully spent in excursions about its interesting coasts, in the ascent of its volcanic mountain, and visits to Herculanum and Pompeii. But I shall not attempt to swell my pages with a description of these scenes, since I am not conscious of possessing information that might elucidate, or powers

* Their settlement is thus accounted for. A strict alliance and friendship had always subsisted between the great Scanderbeg and Alfonso King of Naples. On the death of the latter, his son Ferdinand was driven by foreign and domestic enemies from his capital; but recovered his throne, chiefly through the valour of Scanderbeg, and his Epirotic forces: in gratitude for which services, the Neapolitan monarch gave to him, as an old author expresses it, inestimable treasures, "also the city of *Trana*, and two other noble and strong places in *Apulia;* which, with their territories, he granted unto *Scanderbeg* and his heirs for ever."

After his death, John Castriot his son fled to Naples, where he was kindly received; and to his followers were assigned lands in Calabria, with many immunities. To the time of Charles V. Albanian Greeks came and established themselves in these provinces, where they still retain the peculiar customs of their country, and in some instances the rites of the Greek church; though for the most part they have been brought over to that of Rome. They are a quiet industrious set of people, addicted to agricultural or pastoral pursuits, and paying great reverence to their priests.

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of language that might adorn them, more than has been already done by preceding travellers. Murat and the sister of Buonaparte were at this time seated on the Neapolitan throne: but as we did not think proper to be presented, we satisfied our curiosity by viewing these exalted personages, surrounded by their splendid court, at high mass in the royal chapel. At length, having met with an agreeable companion in one of our own countrymen, who was anxious to visit Florence, we left the shores of Parthenope on a delightful evening in the latter end of July; but were more than two nights and a day in posting to Rome, owing to accidents of various kinds: to one of these however we were indebted in a singular manner. At a post-house between Capua and Mola, an Austrian courier, decked in as much gold lace as a Neapolitan duke, came up, and with an authoritative tone ordered our horses to be put to his carriage: all remonstrance was vain; and we saw the gentleman depart, whilst we were obliged to wait full two hours until other cattle could be procured: scarcely however had he proceeded two miles, when he was attacked by a gang of robbers, pillaged of his property, and left half dead from the wounds which he received.

Having escaped this danger as well as the malaria of the Pontine marshes, we arrived at sun-rise on the Alban Mount, which gave us the first, as it is the best, view of the Eternal city; that "Sceptred Queen," and mistress of the ancient world. Urgent business demanding the attendance of Mr. Parker in England, we could give only four days to the inspection of this interesting capital, the asylum of unfortunate greatness, the refuge of dethroned power, whose mournful ruins, casting a gloom over the splendor of its modern edifices, strongly point out the vanity of all human grandeur and sooth the bitterness of human calamity. "Rome," says the elegant authoress

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of Corinne, "Rome depuis long-temps est l'asile des exilés du monde; Rome elle même n'est elle pas détronée? son aspect console les rois depouillés comme elle." Rome had only a short time before our arrival recovered her venerable pontiff; and here we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with our old friend Mr. Fiott Lee, who, like the wandering Ulysses, had not yet arrived at his native isle: in his company we visited the objects of principal interest, and laboured so well in our vocation, that I have no doubt we saw as much in four days as some persons have seen in as many weeks.

On the fourth and last morning of our sojourn we were introduced, or rather we introduced ourselves, to the Pope, on the first court-day which the holy father had appointed since his return. Having put four black horses to our carriage, and taken a train of lacqueys into our service, we proceeded to the pontifical palace on Monte Cavallo, and advanced into the great hall. This and the whole suite of apartments were filled with cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and priests of all degrees, dressed in their most splendid robes; but all in confusion. No one seemed to know his place and station, or the business for which he came; but all were running about from room to room and treading upon each other's heels.

The English consul had given his Holiness notice of our intended introduction, but by reason of a sudden illness was unable to present us; and Mr. Lee having already had a private audience did not accompany us; so that we set out upon this adventure alone and unattended. The crowd of clerical courtiers all stared at us with a certain air of astonishment; but as they freely gave way, we marched without interruption to the door of the presence chamber, where a considerable number of the highest dignitaries were assembled: there we were stopped, until a

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young page, in a dress more like that of a girl than a boy, informed the Pope of our arrival. In a short time the door opened; we entered and reverently saluted the Sovereign Pontiff, who was seated, in very plain attire, upon a lofty seat within a raised gallery. His Holiness, with great condescension, came down the steps, took us all affectionately by the hand and gave us his blessing in the most gentle, pious, unaffected manner possible: after this he entered into familiar conversation, standing with us on the floor of the apartment and holding my hand, as the chief spokesman, clasped between his own. After we had expressed our cordial sentiments of congratulation upon his happy return, and had listened with no small degree of pride to the unfeigned expressions of gratitude which this venerable and dignified personage bestowed upon our country, to whose exertions under Providence he was pleased to attribute that return, we talked for a long time upon general subjects, but especially upon our travels, in which he appeared to take considerable interest. He asked many questions concerning the state of Turkey and the modern Greeks, as well as the splendid ruins of Athens; but he inquired more particularly about Spain and the events which we had witnessed in that quarter of the world. Mr. Synge, having been engaged in several Spanish campaigns as honorary aide-de-camp to General Pack, and having but recently quitted the country, was enabled to gratify his Holiness with many circumstantial and interesting details. The whole of our conference occupied more than half an hour, during which time the Pope continued to stand, expressing himself in a mild unassuming manner, not merely asking questions and receiving answers, but encouraging us to enter with ease and freedom into a mutual communication of ideas. At our departure his Holiness again gave us his blessing, and

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it was not without sentiments of sincere respect that we left that amiable man, apparently as little elated by returning prosperity as he had been depressed by unmerited calamity.

After this visit we proceeded to contemplate the superb horses of Phidias and Praxiteles upon Monte Cavallo; and from thence adjourned to inspect the papal stud, where Mr. Parker set the whole stable in a roar of laughter, by asking to see the Pope's favourite hunter: the chief groom conducted the inquirer to a fine white mule, called Il santo Mulo, upon which the holy father rides in solemn processions. From thence we returned to our hotel, viewed Saint Peter's for the last time in the evening, and next morning bid adieu to Rome.

We took what is called the upper road to Florence, for the purpose of visiting the magnificent fall of the Velino near Terni, which, like most waterfalls, disappoints curiosity. We were however amply recompensed by the exquisite scenery around Perugia and that luxuriant valley,

> Quà formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco
> Integit et niveos abluit unda boves.

Our enthusiasm was soon afterwards excited in a stronger degree by the Lake of Thrasymene, and at Arezzo by the recollection of the tender Petrarch. In this latter place we arrived at the close of a lovely evening; and though the town itself possesses no interest but that which is connected with the fame of its poet, we fully expected to have spent a night within its walls, from the refusal of the post-master to give us horses; and that for a reason which the reader would not easily guess. The banditti upon the road forsooth were so numerous that he expected to have them shot! Our safety never once entered into his contemplation: the lives of heretics were of little conse-

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quence: but those of horses were very valuable—to their master. As our plans however were decided for travelling day and night, we resolved not to spare his cattle: accordingly we repaired to the prefect, and got an impress-warrant for his horses. Luckily for the post-master, and possibly for ourselves, we were soon overtaken by an Austrian patrole, and conveyed through the most dangerous part of the road; after which we arrived without any accident at Florence.

Here we intended to stay only two days, but were detained a third, by a misfortune which occurred to Mr. Parker, from whom a packet was stolen containing a small but exquisite collection of medals and gems which he had made during his Grecian tour. They were ultimately recovered, having been purloined by a Jew, who came into the room to drive a bargain with Antonietti; and I mention this for the sake of putting travellers on their guard against personages of that description. Here we parted with regret from our companion and proceeded over the Apennines, to the capital of Piedmonte, in which beautiful city we remained two days and then commenced our passage over the Alps by the grand road of Mount Cenis. On the road we had a series of escapes which now appear almost miraculous; for in all parts of this route we met disbanded soldiers of Buonaparte's armies, sometimes single, sometimes in small companies, and at other times in large bodies. Accustomed as these men had been to bloody deeds and the most licentious rapine, we have reason to bless Providence for our safety.

Our next resting place was Lyons, where Mr. Parker, who had omitted to lock his bed-room door, was again robbed in the night, as well as Antonietti, who lost a gold repeater. From Lyons we traversed the dull monotonous plains of Burgundy and Champagne, without any inter-

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mission, till we arrived in Paris. Even there we staid but one day to take a transient view of the glories of the Louvre, and then set out for Calais, where we arrived in safety, and feasted our eyes with a distant prospect of our native shores. Upon those shores we landed next day, and regretted no more the brilliant sun of Greece, or Italia's purple vineyards: for there is a charm in the name of our country which depends not upon external associations, upon the magnificence of mountain scenery, or the fertility of verdant plains: this, amidst the venerable ruins of antiquity or the wild grandeur of an untrodden soil, brings us back in thought to the land where we first awoke to human sympathies, and experienced the endearments of parental love; where intellectual light first dawned upon our minds, to teach us the advantages of social union and the blessings of constitutional liberty; where we first raised our hearts in gratitude to the Giver of all good and joined in the public worship of our Creator. There the glory of our ancestors reposes, and there we hope that we ourselves shall sink to rest.

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APPENDIX.

*** *The places in Italics are out of the route.*

AUTHOR'S ROUTE.

	Hours.	Mins.
Patras to a Han	7	0
Han to Calavrita	6	30
Calavrita to Suthenà	2	0
Suthenà to a Han	7	30
Han to Tripolizza	8	0
Tripolizza to *Mantinéa*	2	0
Tripolizza to Tegea	1	10
Tegea to Lerna	7	0
Lerna to Argos	1	0
Argos to Tirynthus	1	20
Tirynthus to Nauplia	0	30
Argos to Mycenæ	1	50
Mycenæ to Nemea	2	20
Nemea to Cleonæ	1	20
Cleonæ to Corinth	2	40
Corinth to Megara	9	0
Megara to Athens	6	0
Athens to Kàssia	3	0
Passage over Parnes	4	0
Thence to Thebes	5	0
Thebes to Livadia	6	0
Livadia to Delphi	9	0
Delphi to Salona	3	30

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	Hours.	Mins.
Salona to Crissæan Gulf	2	0
Prevesa to Salagora	4	0
Salagora to Arta	4	0
Arta to Cinque Pozzi	5	0
Cinque Pozzi to Ioannina	7	0
Ioannina to Zitza	3	30
Zitza to Delvinaki	7	0
Delvinaki to Episcopi	6	30
Episcopi to Argyro-Castro	3	0
Argyro-Castro to Gardiki	3	20
Gardiki to Tepeleni	5	30
Tepeleni to Klissura	4	30
Tepeleni to Berat	12	0
Berat to *Ochrida*	12	0
Berat to *Albassan*	12	0
Berat to Klissura	12	30
Klissura to Premeti	3	30
Premeti to Ostanizza	8	0
Ostanizza to Konitza	4	0
Konitza to Mavrovouni	6	0
Mavrovouni to Ioannina	5	0
Ioannina to Dramisus	4	0
Dramisus to Vareatis	4	0
Vareatis to Dervitzianà	3	30
Dramisus to Paramithia	8	0
Paramithia to Glyki	7	30
Glyki to Porto Phanari	4	0
Glyki to Suli	3	30
Suli to Lelevo	10	30
Lelevo to the Aqueduct of St. George	2	30
St. George to Eleftherochori	2	30
Eleftherochori to Rogous	2	0
Rogous to Luro	2	30

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	Hours.	Mins.
Luro to Camarina	2	30
Camarina to Nicopolis	3	0
Nicopolis to Prevesa	1	0

Distances of a few places in the Morea from Patras: from Dodwell, Vol. i. p. 124.

	Hours.
To Corinth by Sicyon	33
Mistra near Sparta	63
Tripolitza near Tegea	35
Modon by Arkadia	60
Sinano (Megalopolis)	42
Arkadia (Cyparissea)	40

Routes in the Morea from Sir W. Gell.

ACHAIA.

	Computed miles.
Patras to Vostizza	25
Vostizza to Metoki of Megaspelia	8
Megaspelia to Vostizza	15
Metoki to Acrata	7
Acrata to Kamares	12
Kamares to Basilico	15
Basilico to Alopeci	9
Alopeci to Tricala	10
Tricala to Zakoula	10
Zakoula to Acrata	12
Patras to Palaio Achaia	10
Palaio Achaia to Metoki	12

ELIS.

	Computed miles.
Metoki to Kapelletti	6
Kapelletti to Palaiopoli	10

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	Computed miles.
Palaiopoli to Pyrgo	15
Pyrgo to Phlotra	8
Phlotra to Olympia and Palaio Phanaro	7
Palaio Phanaro to Brina	10
Brina to Agios Isidoro	8
Agios Isidoro to Strovitzi	8
Agios Isidoro to Arcadia	15

MESSENIA.

	Computed miles.
Philiatra to Arcadia	8
Gargagliano to Philiatra	8
Navarino to Gargagliano	10
Neocastro to Mothone	7
Arcadia to Kleissoura	12
Kleissoura to Constantino	6
Constantino to Mavromati	10
Mavromati to Khan of Sakoua	10
Sakoua Khan to Scala	5
Scala to Calamata	12
Calamata to Chytries	8
Khan of Satrona to Krano	6
Arcadia to Sidero Kastro	8
Sidero Kastro to Paulitza	9
Leondari to Khan of Sakoua by Makryplai	8

ARCADIA.

	Computed miles.
Paulitza (by Graditza) to Bassæ (Phigalia)	4
Tzagoge to Androutzena	6
Androutzena to Karitena	10
Karitena to Ampeliona	10
Ampeliona to the top of Mount Tetrasi and Isari	7

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	Computed miles.	Hours.
Isari to Lontari	10	
Sinano to Leondari	7	
Megalopolis to the fount of Alpheus		1½
Krano to Sinano	8	
Sinano to Karitena	8	
Karitena to Tripolitza	18	
Karitena to Gortys or Atchicolo	4	
Ampeliona to the top of Mount Diophorte		1
Diophorte to Karitena about		3
Karitena to Saracinico about		4
Saracinico to Anazyri about		4½
Anazyri to Agiani		0¾
Agiani to Tsuka about		2
Tsuka to Katzioula about		6
Katzioula to Vanina about		2¾
Vanina to Tripotamia	12	
Tripotamia to Stretzoba	9	
Stretzoba to Kirpini	9	
Kirpini to Betena	15	
Betena to Khan of Dara, or Tarah	10	
Dara to Lykourio	5	
Lykourio to Katzanes	10	
Katzanes to Kalabrita	10	
Kalabrita to Megaspelia	5	
Megaspelia to Patras about		13
Tripolizza to Lontari or Leondari	18	
Tripolizza, Tegea, &c.		1½
Tripolizza to Mantinea	7	
Tripolizza to Kapsa	8	
Kapsa to Kalpaki	8	
Kalpaki to Zaracca	12	
Kalpaki to Phonia	15	

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	Computed miles.	Hours.
Phonia to Lykouria		2½
Phonia to Zaracca lake	10	

ARGOLIS.

Corinth to Cleonæ	10	
Nemea to Krabata (Mycenæ)	6	
Krabata to Argos	5	
Lake of Stymphalus to Agios Giorgios	10	
Agios Giorgios to Argos	12	
Argos to Tripolizza	25	
Mantinea to Argos	20	
Tegea to Nauplia	25	
Mycenæ to Nauplia (by Barbitza)	10	
Krabata to Tirynthus		2½
Nauplia to Tirynthus		0½
Nauplia to Port Tolone		1
Nauplia to Lykourio	16	
Lykourio to Jero	2	
Jero to Epidauros	6	
Epidauros to Potamia	16	
Potamia to Damala (Trœzene)	7	
Damala to Kastri (Hermione)	9	
Methana to Epidauros	16	
Epidauros to Corinth	25	
Sicyon to Corinth	9	
Corinth to Cenchrea, Schœnus, and back	15	

LACONIA.

	Computed miles.
Leondari to Peribolia	13
Peribolia to Papiote	7
Papiote to Mistra	5
Mistra to Sparta	3
Mistra to Sclavo Chorio	7

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	Computed miles.
Mistra to Krabata	12
Krabata to Saranta Potami	12
Saranta Potami to Peali	6

Mr. Jones's route from Tripolitza to Sparta, and thence by Olympia and Patras to Athens.

	Hours.	
Tripolitza to Han	4	at 3 miles per hour.
Han	4	— 3
Místra or Mísitra	3	— 3
Sparta . . .	1	— 3½
Místra . . .	1	— 3½
Leondári . .	8	— 3½
Palaiópoli . .	2	— 3½
Carítena . .	2	— 3½
Andrítzena . .	4½	— 2½
Fanári . . .	1½	— 2½
Olympia . . .	6½	— 4½
Pírgo	2½	— 4
Gastoúni . .	4	— 4½
Pera Metóki .	6½	— 3½
Patras . . .	6½	— 3½
Aianis Han . .	5	— 3½
Calávrita . .	4½	— 4
Megaspélia Monastery .	2	— 3
Diveotó . . .	2½	— 3
Acrata Han . .	2	(Very bad road.)
Xiló Castro . .	5	— 4
Córitho . . .	4½	— 4½
Scala	2	— 3
Athens, by water	7	

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Mr. Jones's route from Ioannina to Athens across the Pindus.

		Hours.	
Ioannina to	Yánistha . .	2¾ at 3½	miles per hour.
	Krosovítza Han .	4½ — 3½	
	Métzovo . . .	2¾ — 3½	
	Summit of Pindus	1½ — 2½	
	Han	10 minutes.	
	Malakássi Han .	1¾ — 5	
	Kirashá . . .	4½ — 4	
	Barlaam Monastery	3 — 4	
	Kalabáki . . .	0½ —	
	Trícala . . .	3½ — 4	
	Zarko	6 — 4	
	Lárissa . . .	5½ — 4	
	Babá or Tempé .	4½ — 4	
	Length of Vale .	5 miles.	
	Ambeláchi to Larissa . . .	5 at 4	
	Phérsala . . .	5½ — 4	
	Zeitún . . .	10 — 3½	
	Thermopylæ . .	3 — 3	
	Han of Graviá .	4	
	Sálona . . .	4½	
	Chrysso . . .	2 — 3½	
	Castri or Delphi .	1½	
	Arachova . . .	2 — 3½	
	Davlia . . .	3 — 3	
	Cáprona or Chæronea . .	2 — 3	
	Livadia . . .	2 — 3	
	Thíva or Thebes	6 — 5	
	Castle of Phylé .	7 — 4	
	Athens		

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Mr. Jones's route from Prévesa to Ioannina by Suli.

	Hours.
Prévesa to Camarina	4½
Cómarus	½
Louro	2½
Cangiá	1
Rogous	1½
Eleftherochóri	2
Aghio Georgio	2½
Castri	1½
Lélevo	1
Roumano	6
Súli	4½
Fort	1½
Suli to Glyki	2½
Castri	3
Paramithia	5
Borelésa	5½
Cassio	4
Ioannina	3½

Mr. Jones's route from Ioannina to Berat, by the Mavrovouni Mountains.

	Hours.	
Ioannina to Han	2½	at 4 miles per hour.
Peetshal	1½	— 4
Fort	2¾	— 3
Mesovouni	1½	— 3
Bridge	1	— 3
Kónitza	3	— 3
Ostanítza	4	— 3½
New Han	2	— 3½

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	hours.		
Preméti . . .	6	at 3	miles per hour.
Klissúra . . .	3½	— 4	
Boubis	4½	— 4	
Berát	8	— 2½	

Mr. Jones's route from Berat to Ioannina towards the coast of the Adriatic.

	Hours.		
Berat to Katalí . . .	4	at 3½	miles per hour.
Shelk . . .	5	— 3½	
Monastery . .	2½	— 3½	
Liévano . . .	1	— 3½	
Ferry . . .	1	— 3½	
Válona . . .	3½	— 3½	
Selenitza . .	3	— 5	
Carbonara . .	1	— 4	
Gradista . .	2	— 2½	
Frátari . . .	2	— 3	
Kalaváki . .	2½	— 3	
Kesaráti . .	2	— 2½	
Tepéleni . .			
Luzáti . . .	1½	— 2½	
Stépezi . . .	1½	— 3	
Gardiki . . .	3	— 3	
Penítza . . .	4	— 2	
Pheníki . . .	3	— 3	
Mourzína . .	5	— 3	
Piscopí . . .	2½	— 3¼	
Pondicátis . .	4½	— 3¼	
Delvinaki . .	2½	— 3	
Sosino . . .	5	— 2½	
Zítza	2	— 3	
Ioannina . .	3½	— 3	

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Mr. Jones's route from Constantinople to Hermanstadt in Transylvania.

		Hours.	
Constantinople to	Bevádos	10	
	Churloó	10	
	Babá	14	
	Adrianople	10	
	Buyuk Dervend . . .	6	
	Yambul	12	
	Slimnia	4	
	Mámpazar	14	
	Jumá	4	
	Chúmloo	6	
	Provadée	8	
	Kosluja	4	
	Bazarzíi	6	
	Kinarjà	13	
	Silistria	3	
	Karalash across the Danube	1	
	Sixth Post	19	
	Bukarest	3	
	Giest	4	posts
	Argis	4	
	Salatrook	1	
	Rothenthurn	2½	
	Hermanstadt	2	

Explanation of some terms useful to a traveller in Greece.

Affendi . . Sir.
Aghios . . Saint, as Aghio Nicolo, St. Nicholas.
Agà . . . a Turkish gentleman.

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Alogho . .	a horse.
Bazar . . .	a Turkish market-place.
Bey	a Turkish nobleman.
Beiram . .	the Turkish carnival.
Castri . . .	generally a town or village upon an ancient site.
Cadi . . .	a Turkish judge.
Dragoman .	a Turkish interpreter.
Derveni . .	a guard-house on a road.
Effendi . .	a gentleman.
Firman . .	a written order from a governor.
Giaour . .	an Infidel.
Harem . .	the Turkish apartments for women.
Hellenic . .	the ancient Greek.
Hummaum .	a Turkish bath.
Kamáres . .	arches, or an aqueduct.
Katavothron .	a subterranean passage for water.
Khan, or Han	an inn.
Khangi . .	an inn-keeper.
Kalybea . .	a temporary village.
Kaliméra . .	good day.
Kalispéra .	good evening.
Kiosk . . .	a summer-house or pavilion.
Kilo . . .	a measure of about a bushel.
Limnè . .	a lake.
Mandri . .	a shepherd's cot or fold.
Metoki . .	a farm-house belonging to a monastery.
Nerò . . .	water.
Oka . . .	a weight of 2¾ lb.
Papas . . .	a Greek priest.
Palikar . .	an Albanian warrior.
Panaghia . .	the Virgin, or Madonna.
Potàmi or Potamo	a river.

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Pyrgo . . .	a tower.
Pèghè . .	a well.
Parà . . .	the smallest circulating coin.
Rakee . . .	a kind of brandy.
Romaic . .	the modern Greek.
Ramazàn . .	the Turkish Lent or Fast.
Suradgee . .	a post-boy.
Stamboul .	common name for Constantinople.
Tatar . . .	a Turkish guard or messenger.
Tekè . . .	a Turkish mosque or chapel.
Tchibouki .	a pipe.
Vaivode . .	the governor of a town.
Vouno or Vouni .	a mountain.

THE END.

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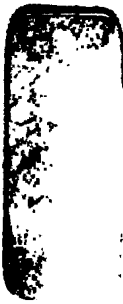

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